DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 129 699	SO 009 479
TITLE	Commemoration Ceremony in Honor of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Continental Congress in the United States House of Representatives, September Twenty-Fifth, Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Four.
INSTITUTION	Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. House.
REPORT NO	93-413
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	151p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (stock no. 052-071-00432-7, $1.80)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$8.69 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	American Culture; American Studies; Civics; *Colonial History (United States); Constitutional History; Educational Resources; *Federal Government; Federal Programs; Government Publications; Government Role; History Instruction; Political Influences; Political Science; Politics; *Primary Sources; Reference Materials; Resource Materials; Revolutionary War (United States); Social History; Supplementary Reading Materials; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS	*Bicentennial; *Continental Congress (1st)

ABSTRACT

This document provides a report of activities undertaken at the first official bicentennial celebration by the U.S. Congress in January 1974. The project was initiated to provide commemoration of the First Continental Congress which met in Philadelphia in September 1774. The booklet presents the proceedings of the commemorative ceremony, a description of the Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps, and the Camerata Chorus of Washington. In the major portion of the booklet, a documentary history of the First Continental Congress is presented. The three sections in the documentary history--Emotional and Intellectual Background of the Congress, The Congress, and Reception of the Measures of Congress--present 14 primary source selections, including speeches, debate notes, memorial addresses, and Congressional records. Participants in the ceremony included Congresswoman Barbara Jordan who gave the opening reading, Professor Cecelia M. Kenyon of Smith College who presented an address titled "Ideological Origins of the First Continental Congress," Professor Merrill Jenson of the University of Wisconsin who spoke on "Historical Origins of the First Continental Congress," Alistair Cooke who gave the principal address, and the Hon. Mike McCormack who presented closing comments. A biographical directory of the First Continental Congress by states, with background sketches of each delegate, is included in the document. (Author/DB)

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ED129699

93d Congress, 2d Session . . . . House Document No. 93–413

SEP 24 1976

Commemoration Ceremony
in Honor of the
Two Hundredth Anniversary
of the
First Continental Congress

in the
United States
House of Representatives

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September Twenty-Fifth
Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Four

SO 009 479

United States
Government Printing Office
Washington : 1975

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Washington, D.C. 20402 - Price $1.80
Stock Number 052-071-00432-7
Catalog Number 93-2:H Doc 413

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H. Con. Res. 680 Passed December 18, 1974

Ninety-third Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the twenty-first day
of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-four

Concurrent Resolution

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the proceedings at the commemoration ceremony in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of the First Continental Congress, together with appropriate illustrations and other pertinent matter, shall be printed as a House document. The copy for such House document shall be prepared under the supervision of the Joint Committee on Printing.

SEC. 2. There shall be printed ten thousand additional copies of such House document for the use of the House of Representatives, which shall be bound in such style as the Joint Committee on Printing shall direct, to be prorated for a period of sixty days, after which the unused balance shall revert to the Joint Committee on Printing.

Attest: W. PAT JENNINGS,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Attest: FRANCIS R. VALEO,
Secretary of the Senate.
DARRELL ST. CLAIRE,
Assistant Secretary.

H. Res. 1255

Ninety-third Congress
2nd Session

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

July 24, 1974

Mr. O'Neill submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to

RESOLUTION

Whereas the First Continental Congress met two hundred years ago, September 5, 1774, through October 26, 1774, as the first American congress of representatives, and enunciated those principles of government of free men which have inspired Americans throughout their history and which still guide this nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting and accomplishments of the First Continental Congress be commemorated, and to that end the Speaker of the House will appoint four Members of the House of Representatives to constitute a Committee on Arrangements.

The Committee on Arrangements shall plan the proceedings, issue appropriate invitations, and select distinguished scholars of the period of the American Revolution to deliver a memorial address.

Honorable Carl Albert
Speaker of the House of Representatives
Oklahoma

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. *Majority Leader* Massachusetts	John J. Rhodes *Minority Leader* Arizona

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

Representative Mike McCormack, *Chairman*
Washington

Representative Joseph McDade
Pennsylvania

Representative James Hanley
New York

Representative Jack Kemp
New York

The Program

Presiding Officer

THE SPEAKER, THE HONORABLE CARL ALBERT

The Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps—
"Chester"

The Flag is carried into the Chamber by the Continental Color Guard.

THE HONORABLE BARBARA JORDAN—Opening Reading

PROFESSOR CECELIA M. KENYON—Remarks
Charles N. Clark Professor of Government, Smith College

PROFESSOR MERRILL JENSEN—Remarks
Vilas Research Professor of History, University of Wisconsin

The Camerata Chorus—*"Free America"* and *"The Liberty Song"*

ALISTAIR COOKE—Remarks

Colors are retired.

The Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps—
"Yankee Doodle"

Presiding Officer recesses assembly.

Proceedings

The Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps, led by Staff Sergeant John Markel as Drum Major, entered the door to the left to the Speaker and took the positions assigned to them.

The honored guests, Mr. Alistair Cooke, Prof. Cecelia M. Kenyon and Prof. Merrill Jensen, entered the door to the right of the Speaker and took the positions assigned to them.

The Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps presented a rendition of "Chester."

The Doorkeeper (Hon. William M. Miller) announced the Flag of the United States.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The Flag was carried into the Chamber by a Color Bearer and a Guard of Honor.

The Color Guard saluted the Speaker, faced about, and saluted the House.

The Flag was posted and the Members were seated.

The Speaker. The Chair recognizes the Honorable Mike McCormack of Washington, the chairman of the Committee on Arrangements.

Mr. McCormack. Mr. Speaker, fellow Members, ladies and gentlemen: December of 1773, a group of Boston citizens, outraged with a new British tax on tea, swarmed over three British ships in the Harbor and dumped the cargo overboard.

In the spring of 1774, the British Parliament, responding sternly, enacted the Coercive Acts, closing the port of Boston, quartering troops in Boston, and exempting British officials from trial in the Colony's courts.

The colonists called these the Intolerable Acts and they were the central subject of discussion when the First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774.

Out of this session came a "Declaration and Resolves" of colonial rights and an agreement to stand together in boycotting commerce with Great Britain.

The thirst for liberty and justice and a willingness to sacrifice for it was the initial manifestation of the spirit that produced the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and a 200-year tradition of representative government, preserving freedom and dignity for all Americans.

Today we meet to commemorate the 200th anniversary of that First Congress. The other members of your Arrangements Committee are: The Honorable Joseph M. McDade, of Pennsylvania, the Honorable James M. Hanley, of New York, and the Honorable Jack F. Kemp, of New York.

News of Parliament's passage of the Coercive Acts arrived in the Colonies during the early summer of 1774. This news not only elicited demands for a general Congress to take steps to define and to secure colonial rights; it also provoked a searching reexamination of the nature of the connection between Britain and the Colonies, as well as the extent and character of American rights. The flood of pamphlets and newspaper essays that poured forth from American presses provided the intellectual context—and established the mood—within which the First Continental Congress acted. Perhaps the most penetrating, and certainly the most moving, of these pamphlets was entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," the inspired performance of a young Virginia lawyer and legislator, Thomas Jefferson. Here to read Jefferson's ringing conclusion is Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, of Texas.

Hon. Barbara Jordan
Opening Reading

Miss **Jordan**. Proceeding from the then still novel assumption that the Colonies were distinct and independent governments bound to Britain only through their mutual allegiance to a common monarch, Jefferson argued at length in a summary view that the British Parliament had no authority over the colonists, who were bound only by laws made by their own elected representatives and the legislatures of each of the Colonies. But, Jefferson argued, Parliament had not been alone in pursuing illegal "Acts of Power" in what, he said, was "Too plainly a deliberate and systematical plan of reducing us to slavery." George III himself had been guilty of a "wanton exercise of power" in the Colonies. Charging the King with a long list of oppressive acts against the Colonies, Jefferson concluded his pamphlet with the following warning:

"That these are our grievances, which we have thus laid before his majesty, with that freedom of language and sentiment which becomes a free people claiming their rights, as derived from the laws of nature, and not as the gift of their chief magistrate: Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American art. To give praise which is not due might be well from the venal, but would ill beseem those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know, and will therefore say, that kings are the servants, not the proprietors of the people.

"Open your breast, sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George the third be a blot in the page of history. You are surrounded by British counsellors, but remember that they are parties. You have no ministers for American affairs, because you have none taken from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behoves you, therefore, to think and to act for yourself and your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty, and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire. This, sire, is the advice of your great

American council, on the observance of which may perhaps depend your felicity and future fame, and the preservation of that harmony which alone can continue both to Great Britain and America the reciprocal advantages of their connection. It is neither our wish nor our interest to separate from her.

"We are willing, on our part, to sacrifice everything which reason can ask to the restoration of that tranquility for which all must wish. On their part, let them be ready to establish union and a generous plan. Let them name their terms, but let them be just. Accept of every commercial preference it is in our power to give for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they cannot use, or to supply those wants which they cannot supply. Still less let it be proposed that our properties within our own territories shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This, sire, is our last; our determined resolution; and that you will be pleased to interpose with that efficacy which your earnest endeavors may ensure to procure redress of these our great grievances, to quiet the minds of your subjects in British America, against any apprehensions of future encroachment, to establish fraternal love and harmony through the whole empire, and that these may continue to the latest ages of time, is the fervent prayer of all British America!"

Prof. Cecelia Kenyon
Address

IDEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Mr. **Hanley**. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged today to introduce our first guest speaker, Miss Cecelia M. Kenyon. Professor Kenyon is the Charles N. Clark professor of government at Smith College, and during this school year is serving as the James Pinckney Harrison Professor of History at the College of William and Mary.

She is known primarily for her penetrating and insightful essays on the political thought of the Founding Fathers and especially for her work on the Anti-Federalists. She is presently doing a large study of early American political ideas and is serving on the advisory committee for the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Program.

Professor Kenyon.

Prof. **Cecelia M. Kenyon**. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives, ladies and gentlemen:

Members of the First Continental Congress would be pleased indeed to know that this House, its heir and descendant, had paused in the midst of efforts to cope with contemporary problems and commemorate the purposes and achievements of that Congress of two centuries ago.

For the delegates of that Congress had a profound sense of the significance of their own meeting, for themselves and their generation, and for their posterity—that is to say, for us today in this Chamber, and for the millions of Americans represented here by the Members of this House.

That significance was stated succinctly by a delegate from Virginia, Richard Bland:

> The question is, whether the rights and liberties of America shall be contended for, or given up to arbitrary power.

The tasks that brought those men to Philadelphia in 1774 is still significant today. Indeed when we consider the relatively rare existence of constitutional republics throughout all of known history, the preservation of liberty will always be a difficult and continuous task. For no generation alone can guarantee the enjoyment of liberty either for itself or for its posterity.

It is therefore fitting and proper for us to look back at the thought and the work of our predecessors, for in doing so, we may gain insight and understanding that will enable us to pass on to our posterity the heritage of liberty and self government which the men of 200 years ago preserved, enhanced, and transmitted to succeeding generations of Americans.

What were the assumption of the Members of that First Continental Congress? What were their objectives and their problems? What were the political skills which they used to resolve their differences and reach conclusions to which at least a majority could in conscience cons[illegible]d then present to their constituents as a program for national action by which to defend their rights and liberties?

My colleagues and I will attempt to answer some of these questions.

First, all of the delegates, including those who later remained loyal to the British Government, were committed to the principles of constitutionalism and the rule of law. They differed in their interpretations of the British Constitution and its application to the American Colonies, but they were unanimous in their conviction that the only legitimate government was one based on a constitution and operated in accordance with the rule of law.

Second, they were agreed that Americans had a just claim to certain rights and liberties, and that these were in serious jeopardy because of policies adopted by the British Crown and Parliament. They were not agreed, however, as to the origin and justification of these liberties, and because the journal of the Congress is so sparse and the rule of secrecy adopted by the delegates so well observed, we can only speculate about the debate that took place both in committees and in the Congress as a whole.

The issue was whether to base their liberties on natural law on the British Constitution, on their Colonial Charters, or on all three. To rest their claims on colonial charters alone was probably unsatisfactory to many delegates because of experience. Charters had been revoked in the past, and might be again in the future. Indeed, the crisis which led to the meeting of the Congress was the virtual revocation of the Charter of Massachusetts.

To rely on the British Constitution alone must have seemed futile to some delegates, because the debates of the preceeding decades had already demonstrated either that the British Government was prepared to violate that Constitution or that the British in Britain interpreted the Constitution, in a manner quite different from that of their American cousins.

To rely on natural law as the foundation of their liberties must have made a number of delegates uncomfortable, for any one of several reasons. The doctrine of natural law, and its corollary of natural rights, was associated with the doctrine of a state of nature, in which men were supposed to have lived without any government and from which they emerged only by consenting to a social contract. The trouble was, or may have been, that some delegates simply did not believe that men had ever lived without government. James Otis, a pamphleteer popular during the 1760's, stated flatly that he did not believe in the state of nature, but that since he could find no better basis for the rights and liberties in which he did believe, he would use that concept.

A second problem in using natural law and natural rights doctrine was the principle of equality associated with it. All of the Colonies, without exception, required some property qualifications for voting, and in none of the Colonies had slavery been abolished. But if men had been equal in the state of nature, then upon what principle could their inequality in civil society be justified? That was an embarrassing question, and we know from contemporary sources that some Americans were troubled by it.

In the end, the Congress agreed to use all three justifications: the British Constitution, the Colonial Charters, and the concept of natural law and natural rights. And despite all its problems and weaknesses it was the last of these three that gave the American Revolution its universality and its special quality of leaving to each generation of Americans the obligation to carry forward at least one more step its ever unfinished business.

A third belief shared by the delegates to the First Congress was that the most perfect form of constitutionalism was a government which had within it at least one strong representative branch, a branch which above all else, controlled the power of taxation and expenditure of the people's property. For centuries, as they knew very well, their English ancestors had stubbornly used the power of the purse to gain and preserve the rights, liberties, and privileges of free men. The Colonies themselves had repeatedly used that same power of the purse to win concessions from their royal governors, to erode their power, and in short, to compel their chief executives to be almost as accountable to the people over whom they ruled as they were to the monarch to whom they owed their appointment. The Colonists knew that if they lost this power, they would lose their principal weapon against arbitrary government. Every schoolchild in America knows that the grand battle cry of the Revolution was, "No taxation without representation."

To this argument the British Government and its supporters replied that the Americans were "virtually" represented in Parliament, although they did not actually vote for or send any members to the Parliament. The British defenders of this system argued that actual voting was not the essential element in representation. Once a man got into Parliament he represented not the particular district for which he was elected; rather, he represented the entire nation, indeed, the entire Empire.

Americans did not accept this theory, for four reasons—two of them practical, and derived from experience, two of them theoretical, but also grounded in experience. In the first place Americans were accustomed to having their own man in their colonial assemblies. He usually came from the district he represented, and in some Colonies his constituents sent him to the legislature with definite instructions. If they did not approve of his conduct, they could turn him out, usually within a year. The idea that some Englishman 3,000 miles away could represent them was outlandish. It was also unrealistic, and this was their second reason for rejecting this theory of "virtual" representation. To the Americans it was perfectly clear that there were areas in which the interests of the British voter and the American colonist were in direct conflict. An obvious example was taxation. If the Parliament could tax the colonists heavily, it could lower taxes for the British who lived in Britain.

The two theoretical arguments against "virtual" representation were also rooted in the colonists' experience in politics. That experience led them to doubt both the psychological and ethical assumptions upon which the British theory rested. Americans were not sure that it was possible for a man always to perceive what the interest of the entire nation or empire was—assuming that there was a common interest. The problem then was both cognitive and ontological. Finally, they doubted that it was ethically possible for a member of Parliament always to vote for the general welfare, when his own interest or that of his immediate constituents was or seemed to be in conflict with it.

Because of the Americans' insistence on voting as a crucial element in legitimate representation, it is pleasing to note that the delegates to the First Congress were all chosen by processes which involved some degree of voter choice, sometimes by direct election, more frequently by indirect election.

Of even greater importance, the delegates knew that their power and authority rested on the willingness of constituents to follow their lead. The sensitivity of the Members of the First Congress to the meaning of representation, their awareness that the only real power they possessed was the power to persuade, was well stated by a delegate from South Carolina.

> We have no legal authority; and obedience to our determinations will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent utility and necessity of the measures we adopt. We have no coercive or legislative authority. Our constituents are bound only in honor to observe our determinations.

Thus the great and crucial problem of the Congress was to devise ways and means that would be effective against the British Government, and voluntarily accepted by their American constituents.

Then, as now, the task of reaching agreement on means proved to be far more difficult than agreeing on ends.

It is in reading the record of disagreements within the Congress, and observing the methods by which its Members resolved those differences, that a modern American senses the difficulty of their task and catches a glimpse of the political skills already acquired by our forefathers and used by them to take the first great step toward a continental union based upon the republican ideal of liberty and justice for every citizen.

In the end, and after practical compromises that would be perfectly understandable to this House, which, like its venerable predecessor, represents different regions and different interests, the Congress did agree to a plan for exerting peaceful but strong pressure on both the people of Britain and their government. Whether the plan would have been successful in its object, the restoration and preservation of American liberty without resort to armed force, we shall never know. Before it could take full effect, the conflict between America and Britain erupted into military action at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775.

Was this first Congress a success, and did its work really end on October 26, 1774? If judged by its immediate goal, to restore American rights without resort to force, it was a failure. If, however, we look upon it as a determined effort to secure American liberty by means of national unity, it was successful, because it was followed by the Second Continental Congress, and that Congress by an unbroken series of Congresses, from that day 200 years ago until this moment.

It therefore seems appropriate to end these remarks with a quotation taken, not from the First Congress, but from one of its immediate successors. The words are those of John Adams, written to his wife in late April of 1777. Adams was then working away at the Congress in Philadelphia, subject to cross pressures of conflicting interests and opinions, serving on multiple committees, responding to incessant demands on his time and energy, doing in short, very much the kind of job that a Member of this present House does.

But John Adams was alone, and he was homesick. He wanted to be back on his farm in Massachusetts, with his wife and his children. Weary of his work in the Congress, he wrote a very homesick letter to his wife, Abigail. The last words of that letter were not addressed to Abigail, really, but to us, to all of us: "Posterity! You will never know how much it cost the present generation, to preserve your Freedom! I hope you make a good use of it. If you do not, I shall repent in Heaven that ever I took half the pains to preserve it." [1]

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[1] This quotation is from: L. H. Butterfield, editor in chief; Wendall D. Garret, associate editor; Marjorie E. Sprague, assistant editor, The Adams Papers, series II: "Adams Family Correspondence." Sponsored by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Atheneum (1965), originally published by Harvard University Press (1963). Volume II (June 1776–March 1778), page 224.

Prof. Merrill Jensen
Address

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Mr. Kemp. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleagues and friends. It has been said that the only thing that people learn from history is that no one ever learns anything from history. And certainly today we can ill afford the luxury of not learning the lessons of the past.

And our second guest speaker is Prof. Merrill Jensen, the Vilas Research Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin. After serving as the university's chairman of the history department for 4 years, he also today serves with Miss Kenyon as a member of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Program. He is the author of several books on the era of the American Revolution and is widely recognized as the world's leading living authority on the history of the Continental Congress.

Professor Jensen is now at work on a project of the history of the First Federal Congress and I would like you to join with me in greeting Prof. Merrill Jensen of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Jensen. The history of the Congress of the United States—our oldest national political institution—began 200 years ago this month when delegates from 12 American Colonies met in Philadelphia on the 5th of September. The occasion for that meeting was British legislation. One law of Parliament punished the town of Boston for the Boston Tea Party by closing its port. A second law altered the constitution of Massachusetts to give the British Governor far more power than he had ever had before.

Some of the delegates thought that Boston got what it deserved for destroying private property, but most of them looked upon the alteration of the Massachusetts constitution as a dangerous threat to self-government in all the Colonies.

The 57 men who assembled had learned the art of politics in some of the toughest political schools in recorded history—the Colonial Assemblies—or "House of Representatives"—the only elected branches of the colonial governments. Forty-two of the delegates had been or were Members of those Houses. And, as elected legislators, they were devoted to the priniciple of legislative supremacy.

Above all most of them distrusted executive power. No one stated that distrust more eloquently than Roger Sherman, a key figure in the First Congress and in the Constitutional Convention. In 1787 he told the delegates to the Convention that the Presidency was "nothing more than an institution for carrying the will of the legislature into effect" for the legislature was "the depository of the supreme will of the society." Therefore the President should be elected by and dependent upon Congress, and if he were not dependent, it would be "the very essence of tyranny, if there was any such thing."

With a very few exceptions, most of the delegates were not full time professional politicians. They were merchants, planters, and professional men. Even so, some of them were close to being political geniuses, and in all candor it must be said that some of them used political methods that are always deplored but often used, and that concern for truth was not always uppermost in their minds.

Nevertheless they were men concerned with fundamental ideas about the nature of man, of society, and of government, and they could and did think and write about such matters on a high level seldom matched by American political leaders since the 18th century.

The Members of the First Congress divided bitterly about the nature of the policies to be adopted to oppose what they looked upon as British attacks on American liberties. Years later John Adams declared that "one-third were Tories, one-third Whigs, and the rest mongrels." Or, to put it in modern terms, "one-third conservatives, one-third liberals, and one-third fence-sitters."

The "liberals"—the "radicals" of the time—had their way. The Congress adopted a Declaration of Rights which denied that Parliament had any power to legislate for the Colonies, except to regulate their trade, and even that only with the consent of the Colonies. Furthermore, the Declaration based American rights, in part, on the "law of nature," a doctrine infinitely useful in political debate since no one knew what it meant and therefore anyone could define it to suit his purpose.

The Congress adopted an even more radical practical means of opposition: the complete stoppage of trade with Great Britain and the nonconsumption of all British goods. And the means of enforcement was revolutionary in result. The Congress called for the creation of committees in every local community throughout the Colonies to enforce the stoppage of trade. Hundreds of such committees sprang up and within a few months these illegal grassroots organizations became the local governments in most Colonies, and the basis for the overthrow of the colonial governments themselves by the end of 1775.

The First Congress set the Colonies on the road to revolution and independence, and Americans at the time realized, some with horror and some with joy, that Congress had done so.

But the Congress did more than that, for its Members raised fundamental constitutional and political issues that are as of much concern today as they were 200 years ago.

For years many Americans had challenged the right of a central government—that of Britain—to interfere within the Colonies, and the First Congress was a climax of that challenge which led to independence. But it was also the beginning of a long debate among Americans themselves.

Some of the delegates in the First Congress insisted that a central government was necessary to regulate trade, control paper money, direct military forces, settle disputes among Colonies, and provide force to suppress internal rebellions. Americans, they argued, should either agree that Britain had such power or adopt a constitution of their own.

This was the view of such men as John Jay and John Rutledge in 1774, and in 1787, they supported the adoption of the Constitution.

Other Members of the First Congress such as Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee believed that the State legislatures should retain ultimate power and that any American central government should be one of sharply defined, precisely delegated, powers. Thirteen years later they were leading opponents of the ratification of the Constitution unless it was amended to protect the rights of citizens, and to more carefully define and limit the power of the central government over the States.

The debates did not die with the adoption of the Constitution but continued on to another climax: One of the bloodiest civil wars in history between 1861 and 1865. And today, what with the talk about a "new Federalism," who can say that the debate begun 200 years ago has been settled to the satisfaction of all Americans.

The First Congress also debated a balance of power of another sort: That among the Colonies themselves. The issue was raised the first day. How should Congress vote: by population or by Colonies? In the course of the debate, Patrick Henry of Virginia declared that the Colonies were in a state of nature, that distinctions among the Colonies were no more; and then declared: "I am not a Virginian, but an American." It was not a proclamation of American nationalism, as some have said and still say, but an argument that Virginia—with 20 percent of the population of the Thirteen Colonies—should have more votes than Rhode Island and the other small Colonies.

The small Colonies insisted that they had as much at stake as the large ones, and they had more votes. Congress therefore agreed that each Colony should have one vote but that the decision should not become a precedent. But it did become a precedent and is a part of the American constitutional system today. The insistence upon the equality of the States was so powerful that it had to be granted in one branch of Congress to prevent the collapse of the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Embedded at the end of the amending article of the Constitution, article 9, is the proviso that—

> No State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

The First Congress did more than begin debate on great and lasting issues: It provided for the continuity of Congress by agreeing to meet again in May 1775 if Britain had not redressed American grievances. The British scorned the First Congress, turned to armed force, and by the time the Second Congress assembled, a war had begun that was to last 8 years before Americans won their independence.

The Second Congress, and its successors elected by State legislatures, became both the symbol and the governing body of the Nation. Congress, a single house legislature, established domestic policies, directed military operations, and determined and executed the foreign policies of the United States. Not until after the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 was the Congress divided into two branches and required to share its powers and responsibilities with an executive and a Supreme Court.

The Members of the First Congress did far more than prepare the way for independence, begin the debate on great and lasting issues, and create an enduring national institution. They went on to lay the constitutional and political foundations of a new nation on both the State and National level.

Eleven of the delegates served in the State legislatures and conventions that wrote the first State constitutions; 34 of them sat in State legislatures after 1776; 16 of them became Governors of their States; and 17 of them served on State supreme courts, 10 of them as chief justices.

On the national level, 41 of them served in Congress between 1775 and 1789, 6 of them as its president. In 1787, 41 Members of the First Congress were still living. Ten of them were elected to the Constitutional Convention, and 20 of them to the State conventions that ratified the Constitution.

And last, but by no means least, two Members of the First Congress—George Washington and John Adams—were the first two Presidents of the United States under the Constitution of 1787, and two others—John Jay and John Rutledge—were the first two Chief Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

They were strong men who differed profoundly about the character of the constitutional and political institutions they created, but the record of their collective achievement offers a challenge to their first creation, the Congress of the United States, and above all a challenge to this House of Representatives at the beginning of the third century of its history.

Alistair Cooke

Principal Address

Mr. McDade. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, and fellow citizens. Our principal speaker today, Mr. Alistair Cooke, is well known to Americans as the creator and narrator of the special television series "America," on which his best selling book of the same title is based.

The series has won 18 awards around the world, including 5 Emmies and the Peabody Award. Mr. Cooke has been an interpreter of America for the British for 27 years through his distinguished radio series, "Letters from America." He is perhaps a more sensitive interpreter of the American experience because unlike many of us and like so many of our forebears, he was not born an American but chose to become one.

A great privilege to warmly welcome Mr. Alistair Cooke.

[Applause.]

Mr. Cooke. Mr. Speaker, Mr. McDade, Members of the House of Representatives, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: Of all the times that I have sat in this House in the past 30-odd years as a reporter and listened to Presidents requesting from you declarations of war—not many of them any more since you lost the power!—listening to pronouncements that the state of the Union was good or bad or indifferent; and listening to debates on everything from the price of battleships to the coloring of margarine; I can assure you that this occasion is for me far and away the most terrifying. It was not at first put up to me as an ordeal, or even as a very great privilege, which indeed it is. I understood that there was to be a cozy get-together of some Congressmen, somewhere, a breakfast perhaps, at which I might be called on to say a few impromptu words. But standing here now I feel as if I were just coming awake from a nightmare in which I see myself before you unprepared and naked, as one often does in dreams, looking around this awesome assembly and blurting out "I accept your nomination for the Presidency of the United States."

When I blithely accepted—the invitation, that is—and the grandeur of this occasion was only then made clear to me, I tried to backtrack on the grounds of a conflict of interest. Because I was supposed now to be standing before an audience not in the United States but in the Kingdom of Fife addressing the annual dinner of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of

St. Andrews. My letter of abject apology to the Secretary prompted from him a chivalrous reply. He wrote:

> It is a pity that you will not be following in the footsteps of Francis Ouimet and Robert Tyre Jones, Jr., but it is splendid that you should be following in the footsteps of Lafayette and Churchill.

He added, however:

> A senior member asks me to remind you that we are 20 years more ancient than the First Continental Congress, and maybe you should get your priorities straight.

I cannot help recalling—and with some pride in the great honor that you do me today—that the only native-born Englishman I ever heard address this House was Winston Churchill. He remarked then that if his father had been American, and his mother English instead of the other way around he might have got here on his own.

The wistful thought occurs to me today that if my father had been Irish, and my mother English, instead of the other way around, I might have tiptoed, at a respectul distance, in the shadow of that mighty man.

We are met in what I take to be the first official celebration of the Bicentennial by the Congress to applaud the men who met in Philadelphia in September 1774, in response to many indignities, mainly, I think, to the military occupation of Boston and the monstrous, and, as it turned out, the fateful blunder of the Parliament, in closing the Port of Boston. This is an action which Englishmen, to this day, think of as being not particularly unreasonable, until you ask them to wonder how they would feel if the Congress of the United States were to close the Port of London.

They were, as we have been told, a very mixed bunch of aggrieved men. We tend to see them as a body of blue-eyed, selfless patriots all at one in their detestation of tyranny. But I doubt that the present Congress spans so wide a political gamut. They ranged from hide-bound radicals to bloodshot conservatives. There were, of course, many disinterested men fighting for a principle, but there were also shrewd businessmen who saw, in a possible break with England, a gorgeous opportunity to ally with Spain and control all trade east as well as west of the Appalachians.

But—and it will be worth saying over and over in the next 2 years—the lovers of liberty carry no national passport.

This seems to me a good time to recall some unsung heroes of the American Revolution who sat not in Philadelphia but in the House of Commons, some of them who jeopardized their careers by taking the colonists' side: Henry Seymour Conway, who carried through the repeal of the Stamp Act; General John Burgoyne, himself to be the invasion commander, who raised a storm by urging Parliament to convince the colonies "by persuasion and not by the sword"; the sailor Johnstone, once the Governor of Florida, who warned the House of Commons that what it was doing would provoke a confederacy and a general revolt: a flash of foresight that made the Government benches rise and tell him he had "brought his knowledge of

America to the wrong market"; and most of all, Edmund Burke, who got a respectful hearing on anything and everything until he rose to refute the argument that if the citizens of Boston were taxed without representation, they were no worse off than the citizens of Manchester. Burke replied:

> So, then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all? They are our children, and when they wish to reflect the best face of the parent, the countenance of British liberty, are we to turn to them the shameful part of our Constitution?

He was booed to the rafters.

Now, by recalling these trans-Atlantic heroes of the Revolution, I wish only to suggest the dangers that lie ahead, and that have lain in the past, in our tendency, especially in the movies and in television, and in too many school books, to sentimentalize our history or to teach it as a continual clash between the good guys and bad guys, between America and Britain, the white man and the Indian, industry and labor, between us and them.

Now, practical men usually distrust history—Henry Ford said it was "the bunk"—as a false guide, and they are right if we think that anything ever repeats itself in the same way. It is, rather, the tendency of history to repeat itself in every way but one, and the new element is unfortunately and usually the only one that matters.

So, it is a normal impulse in men of action—and I take it that I am looking at men who are nothing but men of action—to distrust history because it is done with. Americans are all activists in the sense that they have always believed that tomorrow is going to be at least as good as today, and certainly better than yesterday. Nothing could be more American than the famous remark of Lincoln Steffens after he visited the Soviet Union: "I have seen the future and it works." Bertrand Russell saw the same future at the same time, and what he saw was the past in a new guise, and it chilled his blood. But then Russell had a passion for human liberty and he could smell tyranny even when he couldn't see it. Steffens, on the other hand, was a reporter—of a type not yet extinct—a reporter who believed everything he was told.

We are about to launch ourselves on a 2-year festival of commemoration of the American past. And from the early promises of some chambers of commerce, television producers, motel proprietors, and the manufacturers of buttons and medals, it could turn into an orgy of self-righteousness.

Practically every man who signed the Declaration of Independence is at this moment being measured for a halo, or at worst a T-shirt. This is done, I think, from a fear that the truth might turn out to be dull. Well it's often embarrassing, but it's never dull.

By sentimentalizing our history we do, most of all, an enormous disservice to the young. We imply or proclaim that the United States was invented by saints with a grievance. Now any perceptive 12-year-old knows from his own experience of life that this is nonsense, and any perceptive 5-year-old from her experience in life. So, they transfer their healthy suspicions from the teacher to what is being taught and conclude that American history is a great bore.

Professor Jensen has reminded us that we have the word of a man who was in the thick of things from the start—John Adams—that in 1776 no more than a third of the population was on the revolutionary side. One-third was openly or covertly Loyalist. And the other third was that dependable minority to whom the Gallup poll pays regular tribute: the people who know nothing, feel nothing, and stand for nothing.

We are also undoubtedly going to be plunged, through the TV tube, into a public bath of immigrants, all of whom will be warm-hearted, simple, courageous and abused. But it would do no harm to young Americans—it ought, rather, to fortify their ideals—to learn that many a shipload of immigrants from 1848 into our own time contained also men jumping military service, and delinquents, both adult and juvenile: a lot of people with a lot to hide. This does not demean, indeed, to me, it glorifies the legions who struggled for a decent and tidy life. To know this will only confirm the daily experience of many young people growing up today in a community of mixed national and racial origins. It seems to me that by such teaching of the truth—of the way it was—in all its maddening complexity, they might learn early on the simple lesson that courage and cowardice know no national frontiers or racial frontiers, and that when we say a man or woman is a credit or discredit to their race, we should mean no more or less than the human race.

The war against injustice and bigotry and greed started well before 1774—in fact, with Cain and Abel—and will trouble our history till the end of time.

Now, I think it is good and proper that in 1976 we should celebrate what is best in the American past. But we should remember that our history, like that of all nations, is sometimes fine and sometimes foul. The important thing is to know which is which.

For if we accept at any given time the inevitable complexity of human motives and desires that make up the past, and the present, there is no need to fear. But some people say, "Won't a strong dose of reality disillusion the idealism of the young? It is the same question that a member of the Constitutional Convention put to James Madison when he said that good government could only be based on "ambition counteracting ambition." Was he saying, asked a mocking delegate, that "the frailties of human nature are the proper elements of good government?"

Madison replied, "I know no other." That simple sentence which reflects Madison's unsleeping sense of reality and his ability to get the Convention to set up a system that hopes for the best in human nature, but is always on guard against the worst.

That is what I believe has guaranteed the survival of the Constitution as a hardy and practical instrument of government.

So I suggest that we would be making a foolish spectacle of ourselves if we spent the Bicentennial year proclaiming to a bored world that we are unique and holier than anybody, for today national sovereignty is a frail commodity. Today we and Western Europe are faced in common with a triple threat to representative government. For the first time since the 15th century our cities are threatened by the success of violence. For the first time since the 1920's our countries are threatened by an unstoppable inflation. And for the first time in human history our planet is threatened by an unstopped nuclear arms race.

We are very much in the parlous situation of the Thirteen Colonies. We don't have much time, if any, to think of ourselves as separate nations whose fate is in our hands. Franklin's warning is apt: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

More and more we and many more nations are, as the Bible warned us, "members one of another."

I think that honest persons who are concerned for the reputation of this country abroad had much cause for misgiving in the past year or two, when our image was rendered alarming to free men by the gradual growth in the executive branch of Government—and it began at least a dozen or 14 years ago—of a kind of domestic Politburo, which in the end, in its malignant form, was indifferent to the Congress and contemptuous of the people and the law.

But then, through the gloom and the squalor that lay on this city, there came a strong beam of light, and it came from this House. Nothing that I can remember has redeemed, in Europe anyway, the best picture of America, which is always the one that ordinary men and women want to believe in, more than the recent public sessions—and how fortunate it was that they were public—of your Judiciary Committee.

Here after a welter of truth, and possible truth, and rumor and hearsay, we saw and heard 38 men and women debating, with sense and dignity and seriousness, the most dire threat to the constitutional system since 1860. And so long as the standing committees of Congress remember that they are standing in for nobody but the people, the state of the Constitution, I think, will be sound. And just so long will the Executive be "the servant and not the proprietor of the people."

So it seems to me a happy thing, and enough of a celebration for today, at any rate, that 200 years after the First Congress met as a team of watchdogs eager to corner a tyrannical executive, this House should have made it possible for us today to say, without complacency, and with some legitimate pride: "I have seen the past—and it works!"

Hon. Mike McCormack
Closing Comments

Mr. McCormack. Thank you, Mr. Cooke.

It may be appropriate, as we close this 200th anniversary ceremony, to recall that even with "the frailties of human nature" to which James Madison referred, the Congress and the House of Representatives has established a brilliant record of accomplishments in protecting and expanding freedom and human dignity; a record that is unique in the annals of history.

When Alexander Hamilton informed his British guest that, "here, Sir, the people govern," he could hardly have foreseen the remarkable progress that has been made here in the House of Representatives, giving meaning to his words.

This is a far better country, and indeed a far better world, for the accomplishments of the men who founded this Congress, and by their successors, who have, during the last 200 years, been dedicated to, as our Founding Fathers expressed it, "the great service of securing and perpetuating freedom."

Of course, no government of human beings can be free from error—let alone perfect—and the people of America have always been a daring, optimistic, generous people, willing to experiment—to try new ideas—to admit to mistakes, to laugh or cry together over successes or failures, and, learning from both, pick up the pieces and build for the future. It's been a great adventure—with a lot of ups and downs, but through it all we've kept—and expanded—our freedoms.

In 1787, the Northwest Ordinance excluded slavery in the new Northern States, and assured all new States equality with the Original Thirteen. That same year, the Constitution was adopted, and 2 years later, the Bill of Rights.

In 1801 the alien sedition laws were repealed, thus protecting freedom of the press.

In the 1860's the Morrill Act, extending higher education opportunities to average Americans, and the Homestead Act, making Federal land available for individual citizens were enacted, and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, abolishing slavery and providing equal protection under the law, were ratified.

In 1919 child labor laws were enacted and the next year suffrage for women was ratified.

The last 40 years have witnessed a tide of significant legislation: The Social Security Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the G.I. Bill, Civil Rights Legislation, Open Housing, Equal Rights for Women, Aid to Education, the Repeal of the Emergency Detention Act, the Housing Bill, Medicare, the War Powers Act, and Environmental Protection and Consumer Protection Laws.

We have given generously of our manhood and our wealth to preserve peace and freedom and help feed and uplift the rest of the world.

Most of this legislation has been passed here in this room by average and not so average Americans, and we, and all of our countrymen, can take justifiable pride in the fact that this less-than-perfect government of less-than-perfect men and women has accomplished so much to keep faith with the aspirations and dreams of its founders; and to give deeper meaning to the first three words of the Constitution, "We the People."

Now, as we look to challenge of the future, let us dedicate ourselves to the commitment that it will be even brighter than the past, and that this Chamber, and this House of Representatives will always be "the place where the people govern."

I would like to take a moment to recognize some of our distinguished guests and thank those who have helped contribute to the program.

I am going to ask several of them to stand and I would like to ask that we hold our applause until they are all standing.

I wish to express our thanks to Congresswoman LINDY BOGGS of Louisiana and Congressman CALDWELL BUTLER of Virginia, who are members of the Executive Committee of the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration; and Mr. John Warner, Administrator of the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration; and the distinguished president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society and a former member of this body, the Honorable Fred Schwengel.

I would also make particular mention of the invaluable assistance given to us by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. They have been of tremendous help to us.

I wish also to thank the Director, Dr. James Billington, and the Assistant Director, Mr. Mike Lacey. We wish to thank Dr. Jack Greene. Dr. Greene is the gentleman who prepared the booklet for us today.

Also, I would like to acknowledge the presence of Deputy Chairman Robert Kingston and the Special Assistant to the Chairman, Joe Hagan, of the National Endowment for the Humanities, who helped finance this program today. These gentlemen are standing in the gallery. The endowment has helped defray the expenses of this program and the Public Broadcasting System.

I would also like to pay tribute to Mr. Hartford N. Gunn, president of the Public Broadcasting System. He is here today.

Then I would also like to commend the manager of our House restaurant, Mr. Kermit Cowan. He has prepared a special menu today with colonial style luncheons. I hope you all enjoy them.

I would like to pay particular tribute to three staff persons who did so much while we were at home over the Labor Day recess—Miss Ann Tonjes and Miss Barbara Grazvlis of my staff and most of all Gary Hymel, executive assistant to the Majority Leader "TIP" O'NEILL's staff, who spearheaded this program from beginning to end and more than anyone else has made this entire program possible.

Will you stand up, and may we give them a round of applause.

[Applause.]

Of course we would like to thank the Third Infantry's Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps and the Camerata Chorus of Washington with its conductor, Joan Reinthaler, and the Camerata Chorus at this time will sing.

Thank you very much.

[Camerata Chorus.]

Mr. MCCORMACK. I know we all want to express our appreciation to the Camerata Chorus for those songs. Not only for bringing them to us today but for learning them for us for this particular program. Alistair Cooke tells me that these were the two "pop" hits of 1774. You can see how things have changed.

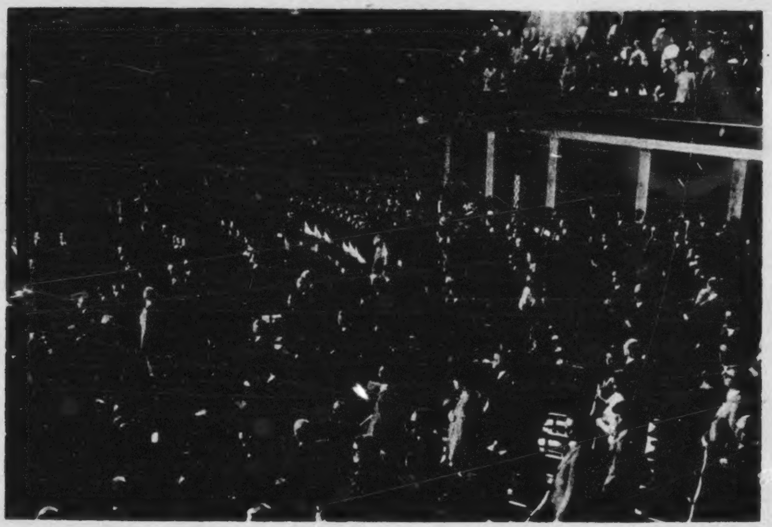
* * *

The Colors were retired from the Chamber, the Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps playing "Yankee Doodle."

The Old Guard Colonial Fife and Drum Corps retired from the Chamber.

The honored guests retired from the Chamber.

At 12 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m., the proceedings commemorating the 200th anniversary of the meeting and accomplishments of the First Continental Congress were concluded.



Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps plays "Yankee Doodle Dandy"

The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps

The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps was founded in 1960 to provide music for 3rd Infantry (The Old Guard) Ceremonies. The Corps' authentic red and white Revolutionary uniform was authorized by General George Washington for his continental musicians. The group, which is led by Staff Sergeant John Markel as Drum Major, makes numerous road trips and plays almost 500 shows each year.

Chester was written in 1770 by William Billings, a tanner by trade who ran singing schools for which he composed music. A hymn tune with martial rhythm and patriotic words, it was widely sung throughout the Revolutionary War and well into the 19th Century and became a favorite with our marching soldiers.

Yankee Doodle was originally thought to have been written in the 1750's by a British army surgeon, Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, to deride the uncultured and peasantlike colonists, who turned it into a rallying song for themselves. Most authorities now conclude the song is American in origin. Yankee Doodle became the most popular marching song of the American armies.

The Camerata Chorus

The Camerata Chorus of Washington, a non-profit professional chamber chorus, has performed in the Baltimore-Washington area for 11 years. Under the directon of conductor Joan Reinthaler, the chorus performs chamber music of all periods from the Renaissance to the present and has given several concerts of American music at the National Gallery of Art.

Free America was written in 1774 by Joseph Warren to the tune of the British Grenadiers, in accord with the common practice of adapting new world lyrics to English melodies. Reportedly, no one was worried about the source of the tune which became well known to colonial singers. Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, was known as a fighting doctor of equal might with pen and sword.

Free America [*1774*]

JOSEPH WARREN

That seat of Science, Athens,
And earth's proud mistress, Rome;
Where now are all their glories?
We scarce can find a tomb.
Then guard your rights, Americans,
Nor stoop to lawless sway;
Oppose, oppose, oppose, oppose,
For North America.

We led fair Freedom hither,
And lo, the desert smiled!
A paradise of pleasure
Was opened in the wild!
Your harvest, bold Americans,
No power shall snatch away!
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.

Torn from a world of tyrants,
Beneath this western sky,
We formed a new dominion,

A land of liberty;
The world shall own we're masters here;
Then hasten on the day;
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.

Proud Albion bowed to Caesar,
And numerous lords before;
To Picts, to Danes, to Normans,
And many masters more;
But we can boast, Americans,
We've never fallen a prey;
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.

God bless this maiden climate,
And through its vast domain
May hosts of heroes cluster,
Who scorn to wear a chain;
And blast the venal sycophant
That dares our rights betray;
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza,
For free America.

Lift up your hands, ye heroes,
And swear with proud disdain,
The wretch that would ensnare you,
Shall lay his snares in vain;

Should Europe empty all her force,
We'll meet her in array,
And fight and shout, and shout and fight
For North America.

Some future day shall crown us,
The masters of the main,
Our fleets shall speak in thunder
To England, France, and Spain;
And the nations over the ocean spread
Shall tremble and obey
The sons, the sons, the sons, the sons
Of brave America.

The Liberty Song was written by John Dickinson and first published in 1768 in the Boston Gazette. It has been called America's first patriotic song and includes the lines, "by uniting we stand, by dividing we fall." Dickinson, who has been called the penman of the Revolution, wrote the Declaration of Rights of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 and later drafted the Petition to the King and the Olive Branch Petition of the First Continental Congress, as well as the Declaration of the Causes of Taking up Arm of the Second Continental Congress. Later he drafted the Articles of Confederation.

The Liberty Song [*1768*]

Many early American anthems, such as "My Country 'Tis of Thee," were New World adaptations of English melodies. The "Liberty Song," referred to by some historians as the first American national anthem, is sung to the tune of the British martial air "Hearts of Oak" . . . . American patriotism set to a British tune—the "Liberty Song" exhibits both the strident libertarianism and the traditional attachment to the crown that characterized many colonists in the pre-revolutionary era.

JOHN DICKINSON

Come join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call;
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just claim,
Or stain with dishonour America's name.
In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready—Steady, Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men our money we'll give.

Our worthy forefathers—let's give them a cheer—
To climates unknown did courageously steer;
Thro' oceans, to deserts, for freedom they came,
And dying bequeathed us their freedom and fame.
In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready—Steady, Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men our money we'll give.

Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous deed.
In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready—Steady, Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men our money we'll give.

All ages shall speak with amaze and applause,
Of the courage we'll show in support of our laws;
To die we can bear—but to serve we disdain,
For shame is to Freedom more dreadful than pain.
In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready—Steady, Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men our money we'll give.

This bumper I crown for our sovereign's health,
And this for Brittania's glory and wealth;
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,
If she is but just—and if we are but free.
In Freedom we're born and in Freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready—Steady, Friends, Steady.
Not as slaves, but as free men our money we'll give.

The
First Continental Congress
A Documentary History

Issued in cooperation with the
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
on the Occasion of the Celebration

by the
United States House of Representatives
of the
Bicentennial of the Congress, September 25, 1974

Edited with an Introduction by
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The First Continental Congress

1974

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"Such an Assembly as never before came together"

THEY BEGAN ARRIVING in Philadelphia in late August. They came individually and in delegation by ship, coach, and horseback from every colony from South Carolina north to New Hampshire. As group by group they approached the town, they were "most cordially welcomed" by a train of carriages filled with Philadelphia's most prominent gentlemen, who escorted them to their homes to be lavishly entertained. At the earliest opportunity, they "walked a little about the town" and admired its striking "regularity and elegance," its many "grand, spacious" private houses, and its handsome public edifices, including the "State House" (now Congress Hall) and the recently constructed Carpenters' Hall, whose builders had furnished it with "a convenient chamber" for meetings, "a long entry where gentlemen may walk," and "an excellent library." A thriving commercial center, Philadelphia and its environs contained between 20,000 and 30,000 people, making it as large as any urban center in Anglo-America except for London. Its bustle, rectangular plan, broad streets, and comparative cleanliness gave it a charm that few of the visitors could resist. But what chiefly claimed their attention at that moment during the late summer of 1774 was not Philadelphia with its many attractions but the great political crisis that had brought them together at this First Continental Congress.

It was a crisis that had been brewing for at least a decade. The spectacular expansion of the British colonies in North America, expansion that could be measured in terms of population, extent of settled territory, volume of exports and imports, and a dozen additional ways, both contributed enormously to the meteoric ascendancy of Britain as a commercial power after 1660 and stirred fears within commercial and government circles in Britain that such valuable possessions might somehow be lost and Britain again reduced to the status of "a small state not more respectable that Danemark, Sweden, [or] Switzerland." Fed by the very logic of the parent-child metaphor that was conventionally used to describe the relationship between Britain and the colonies as well as by the seemingly selfish behavior of many of the individual colonies during the French and Indian War, these fears found expression in the widespread suspicion that the colonists were bent on achieving "a Sort of Independency of their Mother Country." To "retain and establish their Dependence upon this Kingdom," the imperial government, at the end of the war, undertook a series of measures calculated to tighten imperial control over the colonies. Among these, the Stamp Act, passed by Parliament in 1765, sought to tax the colonies for revenue and sparked a general resistance among the colonists, who denied Parliament's right to tax them for revenue because they were unrepresented in that body. And the resistance did not subside until Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in 1766.

But repeal did not mean that Parliament had admitted that it had no right to tax the colonies; on the contrary, colonial resistance to the Stamp Act only served to increase British anxieties about colonial aspirations for independence and to strengthen the conviction that the colonies had to be brought under tighter rein. It was scarcely surprising, therefore, that in 1767 Parliament again sought to tax the colonies as part of a series of more general reform measures known as the Townshend Acts. These measures inaugurated a period of often violent opposition in the colonies that lasted until all of the Townshend duties except for a token tax on tea were repealed in 1770. This step ushered in an uneasy period of quiet, uneasy because the long years of controversy had both heightened British skepticism about the depth of the American commitment to the parent state and raised American fears that a conspiracy of corrupt politicians in Britain was intent on depriving them of their ancient liberties. The spread of such fears severely weakened the strong bonds of affection and allegiance that had tied the colonies so closely to Britain for a hundred years prior to the Stamp Act crisis. Colonial opposition was thus easily rekindled by Parliament's passage of the Tea Act in 1773, which was intended merely to help the East India Company sell more tea in America, and thereby avoid bankruptcy, by eliminating duties formerly collected in Britain on tea reexported to the colonies. Regarding the act as a clever ruse to inveigle Americans into buying cheaper British tea and thus acquiescing in Parliamentary taxation, colonial leaders urged resistance. In Boston, on the evening of December 16, 1773, about 200 men, dressed as Indians and cheered on by a crowd estimated as high as 8,000 people, dumped 342 chests of tea worth about £9,000 into the harbor.

British political leaders swiftly retaliated during the spring of 1774. By the Coercive Acts, Parliament closed the port of Boston until the destroyed tea was paid for, removed royal officials in Massachusetts from the jurisdiction of provincial courts, and altered the Massachusetts charter in ways calculated to increase the authority of the Crown at the expense of local institutions. These measures were intended to bring a swift halt to Massachusetts' resistance and, by serving as an example for any other colonies which persisted in opposing Parliament's authority, to drive a wedge between Massachusetts and other colonies. But they had precisely the opposite effect. They seemed to leave no doubt, as Ebenezer Baldwin, Congregational pastor at Danbury, Connecticut, declared, that the British ministry was operating on that "settled fixed plan . . . for inslaving the colonies" that Americans had come more and more to suspect over the previous decade had been at the root of most of their difficulties with the imperial government. The cause of Massachusetts was, therefore, obviously the cause of all, and colonial leaders everywhere urged united resistance against such "arbitrary power." Throughout May and June calls came—first from the town meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, and then from one colony and community after another—for a general congress to work out a proper response. On June 17 the Massachusetts House of Representatives suggested Philadelphia as the site and early September as the time for the meeting.

Over the next three months, all of the original thirteen colonies except Georgia chose delegates. They were selected in a variety of ways: in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut by the legal colonial assemblies; in Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, and Virginia by extraconstitutional conventions or congresses; in South Carolina by "a general meeting of the inhabitants" at Charleston; in New York by a series of elections in the localities.

To secure repeal of the Coercive Acts and, as the instructions to the New Hampshire delegates put it, "to extricate the Colonies from their present difficulties" were the most immediate but by no means the only and certainly not the most important assignments given to the Congress. The hope was that Congress would achieve much grander objectives. First, it was to seek, in the words of the credentials of the South Carolina delegation, redress of all "the grievances under which America labours" and, more precisely, repeal or withdrawal "of the several acts of parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraints and burdens on Trade; and of the statutes, parliamentary acts, and royal instructions, which make an invidious distinction between his majesty's subjects in Great-Britain and America." Second, and more significant, it was, said the North Carolina credentials, to describe once and for all "with certainty the rights of Americans" and, charged the Rhode Island instructions, to consult upon "proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation." For only when that was done, the experience of the last decade had persuaded a significant segment of colonial political leaders, would the colonists have that security of liberty and property that was the indispensable precondition for the restoration, again in the words of the New Hampshire credentials, of "that peace, harmony, and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her Colonies." To Silas Deane, delegate from Connecticut, the task seemed "as arduous and of as great consequence, as ever men undertook and engaged in." The stakes could scarcely have been higher. At issue, said Deane's colleague Eliphalet Dyer, was nothing less than "the liberties of the West Indies and of the people of Great Britain, as well as our own, and perhaps of Europe."

With so much hanging in the balance, the ability of the delegates and the quality of the relations that would develop among them were matters of intense concern. Many of the delegates were known to each other by reputation, and nine of the fifty-six men who attended the Congress had been together nine years earlier in New York at the Stamp Act Congress, to which nine colonies had sent representatives to concert opposition to the Stamp Act. But for the most part they were strangers to one another and, as they drifted into Philadelphia in late August and early September, were eager to take the measure of one another. Deane, John Adams (Massachusetts), and Joseph Galloway (Pennsylvania) have left a record of their impressions. The first two generally liked what they saw. Deane was especially pleased to find the Southern delegates "men . . . of firmness, sensibility, spirit, and thorough knowledge of the interests of America." But Galloway, the most conservative member of Congress, mistrusted the Massachusetts delegates, who he feared would push for drastic measures. "They are in their

Behaviour and Conversation very modest," he wrote Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, "and yet they are not so much so as not to throw out Hints, which, like Straws and Feathers, tell us which Point of the Compass the Wind comes."

Whatever reservations some individual delegates had about others, the Congress as a whole contained a stunning collection of individuals. With the exception of some members from the delegations from New Hampshire, New York, and New Jersey, they were all among the most prominent political leaders in the colonies, many of them at the zenith of their political careers. They ranged in age from Stephen Hopkins (Rhode Island), who was 68, to Edward Rutledge (South Carolina), who was not yet quite 25. But over three-fourths of the members were between 35 and 55, and both the mean and median ages were between 45 and 46. Educational levels were high. A third had attended American colleges. Five had gone to Harvard, four to Yale, three each to The College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) and The College of William and Mary, and one each to King's College (now Columbia) and Nassau Hall (now Princeton). One delegate had been to the University of Edinburgh, while seven had read law at the Inns of Court in London and four others had received some education in Britain. Well over half (33) either were practicing lawyers or had read law, and most of the others were prosperous farmers and businessmen.

Only a few, such as Samuel Adams (Massachusetts), were not men of considerable wealth. But the most impressive characteristic of the delegates as a whole was the extent and depth of their political experience. Their cumulative legislative experience exceeded 550 years! The six Virginia delegates alone had served a combined total of 123 years in the House of Burgesses, an average of just over 20 years each. At least eleven of the delegates had been speakers of one of the colonial assemblies, two had been governors, and a half dozen others had been judges in the superior courts. "Here," wrote John Adams to his friend William Tudor back in Boston, "are fortunes, abilities, learning, eloquence, acuteness, equal to any I ever met with." Surely, he wrote his wife Abigail, Congress contained "a collection of the greatest men upon this continent in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes." Caesar Rodney (Delaware), who had also been at the Stamp Act Congress, told his brother Thomas that it was "the greatest assembly (in proportion to the members) that ever was collected in America." But John Adams' claim went even further. "The Congress," he said to Tudor, "is such an assembly as never before came together, on a sudden, in any part of the world." Future accomplishments confirmed this judgment. Here were six future presidents of Congress, seven generals, three diplomats, seventeen governors, five members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, five federal Supreme Court justices, two members of the House of Representatives, three senators, and two Presidents of the United States.

The delegates were scarcely of one mind about a course of action. They ranged in temperament and opinion all the way from the cautious Galloway, who desperately hoped to head off any rash measures that might further raise the ire of the British political nation, to the fiery South Carolina radical Christopher Gadsden, who was "for taking up his firelock and marching direct to Boston." Galloway later charged that "two parties were immediately formed, with different views, and determined to act upon different principles. One intended candidly and clearly to define American rights, and explicitly and dutifully to petition for the remedy which would redress the grievances justly complained of—to form a more solid and constitutional union between the two countries, and to avoid every measure which tended to sedition, or acts of violent opposition. The other consisted of persons, whose design, from the beginning of their opposition to the Stamp Act, was to throw off all subordination and connexion with Great Britain; who meant by every fiction, falsehood, and fraud, to delude the people from their due allegiance, to throw the subsisting Government into anarchy, to incite the ignorant and vulgar to arms, and with those arms to establish American Independence." But Galloway was almost certainly misrepresenting the intentions of his opponents. Certainly, there were many delegates who thought the maladies afflicting the colonies called for a strong cure. Gadsden was not the only one who talked of taking up arms. George Washington (Virginia) reportedly had offered in the Virginia convention "to raise and arm and lead one thousand men himself at his own expense" and march "at their head for the relief of Boston," and Rodney found "the Bostonians who (we know) have been condemned by many for their violence are moderate men when compared to Virginia, South Carolina, and Rhode Island." But the dominant mood of those delegates, who were for what John Adams referred to as "higher"measures, was more accurately reflected in their toasts given at a dinner party at the home of Joseph Reed, a Philadelphia lawyer, just two nights before Congress convened on September 5:

> "Wisdom to Britain and firmness to the Colonies; may Britain be wise, and America free,"

> "Union of Britain and the Colonies on a constitutional foundation,"

and

> "Unanimity to the Congress."

Indeed, the pressure for unanimity in the face of British might was overwhelming. "Unanimity," the Connecticut delegates wrote home, was "in our view of the last importance," and Patrick Henry (Virginia), one of the most radical delegates, grew exceedingly "impatient" at having to see such fellows as the more conservative "Galloway, Jay, and the Rutledges" and "not be at liberty to describe them in their true colors."

Whatever the pressures toward unanimity, it became clear on the very first day that those who counselled firm measures had a clear majority and would not be timid in pushing for their goals. The first act of Congress was to select as president Peyton Randolph, speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, the largest and most populous of the colonies. He "seemed to be designed by nature for the business," remarked Silas Deane. "Of an affable, open, and majestic deportment, large in size, though not out of proportion, he commands respect and esteem by his very aspect, independent of the high character he sustains." But the second act was to appoint as secretary Charles Thomson, a leading Pennsylvania radical and the very "life of the cause of liberty" in Philadelphia whom Galloway had managed to exclude from the Pennsylvania delegation. Two weeks later, Congress moved further toward a strong stand by endorsing the Suffolk Resolves. Written by Dr. Joseph Warren, a radical Bostonian, and adopted by a convention in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, on September 9, these resolves not only declared the Coercive Acts unconstitutional and advocated economic sanctions against Britain but also advised the inhabitants of Massachusetts to form a new government to administer the colony until the Coercive Acts had been repealed and to arm themselves and elect officers of the militia. Similarly, Congress rejected Galloway's moderate Plan of union, introduced on September 28, though by a vote of only six colonies to five. Ultimately, however, Congress was restrained from pursuing extreme measures at either end of the political spectrum by the drive for unanimity and the restraints of public opinion. Although the decision to keep proceedings and debates secret freed the delegates from direct constituent pressure after Congress convened, they were never unaware, as John Rutledge (South Carolina) phrased it, that constituent "obedience to our measures will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent utility and necessity of the measures we adopt." Thus did Richard Henry Lee (Virginia) oppose the Galloway Plan of Union on the grounds that it "would make such changes in the Legislature of the Colonies, that I could not agree to it without consulting my constituents."

What was slowly achieved was a consensus, albeit one that fell more on the radical than on the conservative side of the political scale. John Adams described the consensus succinctly: There was no possibility, he wrote his friend Tudor, that Congress would "advise to offensive measures." The delegates would "not, at this session, vote to raise men or money, or arms or ammunition. Their opinions are fixed against hostilities and rupture, except they should become absolutely necessary; and this necessity they do not yet see. They dread the thoughts of an action, because it would make a wound which would never be healed; it would fix and establish a rancor which would descend to the latest generations; it would render all hopes of a reconciliation with Great Britain desperate; it would light up the flames of war, perhaps through the whole continent, which might rage for twenty years, and end in the subduction of America as likely as in her liberation."

The correctness of Adams' assessment was revealed again and again throughout the Congress. A prime example involved the debate over the extent of Parliament's authority over the colonies, one of the most crucial questions confronted by Congress. For almost a decade, the colonists had stood on the principle laid down during the Stamp Act crisis: Parliament could legislate for the colonies but could not tax them for revenue. But the Coercive Acts had forced the colonists into a reformulation of their constitutional arguments. Those measures levied no taxes but they seemed to be just as detrimental to colonial rights as the Stamp Act or the Townshend Revenue Act. Clearly, some new line of defense was needed. This was supplied by two rising young lawyers, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, in two separate pamphlets, both published in August on the eve of the Continental Congress. Wilson, in *Considerations on the Authority of Parliament,* and Jefferson, in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America,* argued that the colonies were distinct and independent governments bound to Britain only through their mutual allegiance to a common monarch and that the British Parliament had therefore "no right to exercise authority" over them. Despite the attempt by James Duane (New York) and other conservative delegates to persuade Congress to admit the "authority of Parliament to regulate the trade of the Colonies" as a matter of right, the Congress endorsed the less conciliatory views of Wilson and Jefferson. In its "Declaration and Resolves," a bold statement of colonial rights and grievances adopted on October 14, it unequivocally denied that Parliament had any authority over the colonies but tempered this denial with an offer to abide by those acts of Parliament that were genuine regulations of the external commerce of the colonies and were designed for "securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members." This offer, the Declaration was at pains to emphasize, was not made out of any recognition of Parliament's *right* to make such regulations but only "from the necessity of the case." On every issue, Congress pursued not radical but firm and strong measures.

However predictable the force and direction of its decisions, Congress proceeded at a distressingly slow pace. "Tedious indeed is our business—slow as snails," complained John Adams. This slowness was not the result of inattention. The delegates met six days a week from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. Rather, it derived in part from their lack of familiarity with each other. It took considerable time for "fifty gentlemen meeting together, all strangers," just to "get acquainted with the tempers, views, characters, and designs" of one another. And this unfamiliarity, John Adams thought, made them all "jealous of each other—fearful, timid, skittish." But there were other reasons for lack of dispatch. As the perceptive Adams confided to his diary, there was "so much wit, sense, learning, acuteness, subtlety, eloquence, etc., among fifty gentlemen, each of whom has been habituated to lead and guide in his own Province, that an immensity of time is spent unnecessarily." "Every man" was "an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities." If "it was moved and seconded that we should come to a resolution that three and two make five," Adams despaired, "we should be entertained with logic and rhetoric, law, history, politics, and mathematics, and then—we should pass the resolution, unanimously, in the affirmative." Of no less importance, in Deane's view, was the gravity, "the vast, extensive, and lasting importance of the questions before Congress." "Every question," Adams once remarked, was "discussed with a moderation, an acuteness, and a minuteness equal to that of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council."

Once the Declaration and Resolves had been agreed upon in mid-October, the work of the Congress moved steadily toward fruition. On October 20, Congress sought to put some bite in its demands by adopting the Continental Association, an agreement that committed the colonies represented in Congress to take economic sanctions against Britain until colonial grievances had been redressed and colonial rights established on a secure foundation. Nonimportation of all British goods was to begin on December 1, nonconsumption on March 1, 1775, and nonexportation on September 10, 1775. The postponement of nonexportation for a year was a concession to the southern staple-producing colonies. The Association also provided for an economic boycott of any colony not adhering to the agreement and the election of committees of safety in every "county, city, and town" to serve as agencies of enforcement. Over the next week, Congress completed its work by adopting four pungent public appeals explaining its behavior and seeking support: an "Address to the People of Great Britain" and a "Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies" on October 21 and an "Address to the Inhabitants" of the six North American colonies—Georgia, East Florida, West Florida, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and St. John (now Prince Edward Island)—not represented in Congress and a "Petition to the King" on October 26, the day of adjournment. That evening, "all the Congress, and several gentlemen of the town" dined "together at the City Tavern." As the delegates put some distance between themselves and the frustrations and excitement of the previous six weeks and as they explained their measures to their constituents, they could justifiably take pride in their accomplishments. Yet, they were also aware that their efforts were unlikely to meet with success. "The Colonists," John Dickinson (Pennsylvania) wrote to the Virginian Arthur Lee in London, "have now taken such grounds that Great Britain must relax, or inevitably involve herself in a civil war, likely in all human probability to overwhelm her with a weight of calamities, in comparison of which . . . the contentions between the Houses of York and Lancaster, or the distractions of the last century, were gentle misfortunes.

"A determined and unanimous resolution animates this Continent, firmly and faithfully to support the common cause to the utmost extremity, in this great struggle for the blessing of liberty—a blessing that can alone render life worth holding. . . .

"I wish for peace ardently; but must say, delightful as it is, it will come more grateful by being unexpected. The first act of violence on the part of Administration in America, or the attempt to reinforce General Gage this winter or next year, will put the whole Continent in arms, from Nova Scotia to Georgia."

In anticipation of a negative reception of its work in London, Congress, before adjourning, voted to meet again on May 10, 1775, in the event that its objectives had not been attained. Unlike the Stamp Act Congress, which made no provision for similar convocations in the future, the First Continental Congress, by this act, created the first permanent national American political institution, one that would guide the states through the American Revolution, preside over the creation of the Federal Union in 1787, and firmly establish a tradition of representative government on the national level in the new United States. Called together to deal with a transitory crisis, the First Continental Congress thus created an enduring institution that for the past two hundred years has been the chief bastion for securing and perpetuating the "rights, liberties, and privileges" of the people of these United States.

JACK P. GREENE.

DOCUMENTS

Emotional and Intellectual Background of the Congress

1. "A Settled Fix'd Plan for Inslaving the Colonies": Ebenezer Baldwin, "An Appendix Stating the Heavy Grievances the Colonies Labor Under . . .(August 31, 1774)

Throughout the colonies, politicians, writers, and ministers in speeches, essays, and sermons enlarged upon the theme that the Coercive Acts were part of a "settled fix'd plan" among British ministers "for enslaving the colonies . . . and indeed the [British] nation too." No longer, they exclaimed, could there be much serious doubt that a malignant conspiracy among the ministers and a corrupt majority in Parliament were intent upon establishing an "arbitrary power" in the colonies, Because "such power will more surely intoxicate men than the strongest spirits" and turn the "best of men" into "monsters of cruelty," ever more dreadful measures could be expected to follow the Coercive Acts if they were permitted to succeed. The cause of Boston was thus the cause of all the colonies. Nothing, they contended, but the united resistance of the colonies, even by force of arms, if necessary, could preserve the liberty and property of Americans from certain destruction by the ruthless acts of a corrupt imperial government. One of the clearest and most comprehensive statements of this interpretation of the Coercive Acts was written by Ebenezer Baldwin (1745–1776), a graduate from and former tutor at Yale College and pastor of the First Congregational Church in Danbury, Connecticut. Included as an appendix to a sermon delivered at a public fast on August 31, 1774, by Samuel Sherwood, a minister at Fairfield, Baldwin's statement is here reprinted from the original.

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Indulge me a little longer while I endeavour to point out what we have *just* reason to fear the consequences of these measures will be. If we view the whole of the conduct of the ministry and parliament, I do not see how any one can doubt but that there is a settled fix'd plan for *inslaving* the colonies, or bringing them under arbitrary government, and indeed the nation too. The present parliament have ever been (by all accounts) more devoted to the interest of the ministry, than perhaps ever a parliament were. Now notwithstanding the excellency of the British constitution, if the ministry can secure a majority in parliament, who will come into all their measures, will vote as they bid them; they may rule as absolutely as they do in *France* or *Spain,* yea as in *Turkey* or *India:* And this seems to be the present plan to secure a majority of parliament, and thus enslave the nation with their own consent. The more places or pensions the ministry have in their gift; the more easily can they *bribe* a majority of parliament, by bestowing those places on them or their friends. This makes them erect so many new and unnecessary offices in America, even so as to swallow up the whole of the revenue. The king is not at all the richer for these duties. But then by bestowing these places—places of considerable profit and no labour, upon the children or friends, or dependants of the members of parliament, the ministry can secure them in their interest. This doubtless is the great thing the ministry are driving at, to establish arbitrary government with the consent of parliament: And to keep the people of England still, the first exertions of this power are upon the colonies. If the parliament insist upon the right of taxing the colonies at pleasure, the least we can expect is, to be tax'd as heavily as we can possibly bear, and yet support our lives; for as the members of parliament feel no burdens themselves by what they lay upon us, and are under no danger of losing their places by taxing us, so long as they can persuade the people of England they are lightening their burdens thereby; they are under no motives of interest to abstain from loading us with taxes as heavy as we can possibly groan under. Doubtless they will be cautious enough, to introduce these heavy taxes gradually, lest they excite too great commotions in this country: But let the *right* be once fix'd and established; it will be very easy to keep adding tax to tax; till the loads grow so heavy and are so fast bound, that we can never shake them off. Nothing most certainly but a principle of justice will keep them from it; and what can we expect from this quarter, when in open defiance of the *English* constitution, they claim a right to tax us, and thus deprive us of our dearest privileges?

In the mean time we must expect our *charters* will fall a sacrifice to these arbitrary claims. Charter governments have long been disagreable to the powers in Britain. The *free* constitution of these colonies makes them such nurseries of freemen as cannot fail to alarm an arbitrary ministry. They only wait a favourable opportunity to abolish their charters, as they have done that of the Massachusetts-Bay. We know the principle the parliament have adopted and openly profess to act upon, that they have a right to alter or annihilate charters when they judge it convenient: And we may depend upon it, whenever they shall think it can be done without raising too great commotions in the colonies, they will judge it convenient. Some may imagine it was the destroying the tea induced the parliament to change the government of the Massachusetts-Bay. If it was, surely 'tis very extraordinary to punish a whole province and their posterity thro' all ages, for the conduct of a few individuals. How soon will a riot or some disorder of a few individuals, afford them a pretext for the like treatment of all the other charter governments. I believe, however, it may be made very evident, that the destroying the tea was not the reason for altering the government of the Massachusetts-Bay; but that it was a fix'd plan long before, and they only waited a colourable pretext for carrying it into execution. It has been reported by gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, that they had incontestible evidence that the two bills for altering the government of the Massachusetts-Bay were ordered by the council to be drawn up by the crown lawyers more than two years ago. Now if this be true (as it undoubtedly is) 'tis quite certain the ministry were only waiting for some colourable pretext for carrying their design into execution. The charter governments are by this precedent reduced not merely to the greatest uncertainty of the continuance of their charters; but may be quite certain, if the present plan is prosecuted, they will be taken away, and these colonies reduced, (if nothing worse) to the state of the royal governments; their governors, councils, judges, &c. will be appointed from England, with high and extravagant salaries.

There is great reason to fear the next step will be the vacating all grants and patents of land from the king; that all our landed property may revert to his majesty; to be regranted under such *quit rents and services* as those in power shall see fit to impose: Nor will *this fear* appear chimerical to any one that duly considers what hath been already done, and what the plan is, which the ministry are doubtless pursuing. 'Twould be weak policy indeed for an arbitrary ministry to push with all their horns at first. But certainly it doth not require very great sagacity to see that their measures are tending to this. . . . Our fathers when they planted this wilderness, placed equal confidence in the royal word pledged in their charters; as in the patents by which they held their land: and deemed the privileges granted in the former of as much worth; as the property granted by the latter. The principle upon which the parliament proceeded in vacating the Massachusetts charter; will equally warrant them, whenever they shall see fit, to vacate all our grants of lands, i. e., when they shall judge it expedient, or for the good of the nation. If the parliament should once take it into their wise heads, that it is expedient, or for the general good, that all lands in America should revert to the crown, that they may be regranted all upon the same tenure,---upon large *quit-rents* to defray the charges of government; what will hinder their carrying it into execution? And indeed the Boston *port act* doth actually afford us a precedent of the exercise of this power: all their wharves and water-lots round the whole of Boston bay, are really *confiscated* to the king (as we have already shewn.) Now what is this but a vote of parliament to take away our landed property. And that power which hath been once exercised have we not all reason to fear will be exercised again.

And have we not just grounds to fear that all this will not be the completion of their oppressive plan, if the ministry find themselves successful in their first attempts? By the *Quebec-Act* we find the parliament claim a power to establish in *America,* the same arbitrary government that takes place in *France.*---To take away trials by juries:---to set aside general assemblies:---to vest the king with a power to appoint legislative councils &c. Now this act not only respects the *French* inhabitants (who having been long used to slavish subjection, and not knowing the benefit of any other form of government, are possibly well eno' pleased with it, especially as the pill is gilded over with a full establishment of that religion, of which they are such bigotted professors;) but it respects thousands of *English,* who have settled there since the conquest, and all such as may settle any where within that vast extended province in future time. By the same right they could establish this form of government over the *English* in Canada; they may do it in the other provinces. In the province of the Massachusetts-Bay, the important privilege of being tried by a jury, is greatly *lessened* by setting aside the equitable and impartial method by which juries were wont to be panel'd. Viewing the things that have taken place, is it without foundation that I express my fears, that the British ministry will e'er long find our general assemblies troublesome things?---a hindrance to government and the like, and so set them aside, under a notion of their being *inexpedient,* and lodge the whole legisiative power in a council appointed by the king. This is the very thing that took place in *Sir Edmond* [*Andros's*] time. The whole legislative power was lodged in him and his council. And since the previous steps are so like what took place then, why may we not expect the consequent ones will be so too? And very likely the ministry may find *juries* equally a bar to the government they mean to establish: and so may persuade the parliament, on the footing of expediency to abolish them likewise.

And when our civil rights and privileges shall have thus fallen a sacrifice to tyranny and oppression, our religious liberties cannot long survive: for where hath it ever been known that civil and ecclesiastical tyranny and despotism have not yet gone hand in hand together. The latter is so necessary to uphold and support the former, that arbitrary princes or ministers of state have ever found their interest in the encouragement of it. And should America be forced to yield in the present struggle for civil liberty, we have no reason to expect but ecclesiastical tyranny, in some shape or other, will like a mighty torrent overspread our land. Those princes on the British throne since the reformation, who have been most disposed to trample upon the rights of the people, and to rule in an arbitrary and despotic manner; have ever caressed the papists and shewn a favourable disposition towards the bloody religion of Rome, as that religion is the surest prop to tyranny and despotism. This is evident during the reigns of all the several kings of the house of *Stewart.* Papists shared in the royal favour and were sheltered under royal protection. Continual attempts were made to bring the church of England to a greater conformity to the despotic church of Rome; 'till James 2d. more adventurous than his predecessors boldly attempts to subvert general assemblies troublesome things?---a hindrance to government and and popery: which so alarmed the nation that they dethroned the tyrant; and placed a confirmed protestant on the British throne. Some late transactions shew a very favourable disposition in the present ministry and parliament towards the religion of Rome; how far they may attempt to introduce into the English nation both in Britain and the colonies, God only knows. But thus much we may safely guess, without much danger of erring, that to introduce episcopacy with all those formidable powers with which it was clothed (which indeed were no obscure resemblance of the church of Rome) before the acts of parliament restraining and regulating prelative power and ecclesiastical courts, passed in consequence of the revolution, will be a darling object with the present ministry, if they see a prospect of being able to carry their designs into execution. For ecclesiastical government must be conformed to the civil, and nothing short of this would be in any measure suited to the genius of that civil policy they are evidently aiming to establish in the colonies. And tho' such an establishment might not introduce fire and faggots; yet depositions of the clergy, fines, imprisonment, disfranchisements, confiscations, &c. with various corporal penalties, you may depend upon it, will be its dire attendants.

All these things, I make no doubt, will take place one after another, as fast as the ministry can bring their measures to bear; unless something occur in God's providence to hinder them.

View now the situation of America: loaded with taxes from the British parliament, as heavy as she can possibly support under,---our lands charged with the most exorbitant quit-rents,---these taxes collected by foreigners, steeled against any impressions from our groans or complaints, with all the rapaciousness of Roman publicans---our charters taken away---our assemblies annihilated,---governors and councils, appointed by royal authority without any concurrence of the people, enacting such laws as their sovereign pleasure shall dictate--judges appointed from the same source, without any check from juries carrying their arbitrary laws into execution.---the lives and property of Americans entirely at the disposal of officers more than three thousand miles removed from any power to controul them---armies of soldiers quartered among the inhabitants, who know the horrid purpose for which they are stationed, in the colonies,---to subjugate and bear down the inhabitants---who know what a chance they stand for impunity, tho' they commit the greatest excesses. These will be ready, not only to execute every arbitrary mandate of their despotic masters; but self-moved (if like others of their profession) to commit every outrage upon the defenceless inhabitants. ---Robberies, rapes, murders, &c. will be but the wanton sport of such wretches without restraint let loose upon us.---These will be at hand by force and arms to quell every rising murmur, to crush every rising groan or complaint e'er it be uttered. And whenever the iron hand of oppression shall excite opposition or raise insurrections among the people: (which will ever be the case under arbitrary and despotic government, till long use has rendered their necks callous and insensible to the galling yoke) Bloodthirsty soldiers will be let loose upon them. Those who survive their murdering hands and have the misfortune to be taken captive by them, will soon be dragged, by the sentence of more merciless judges, to the place of execution.---Nothing shall then be heard of but executions, forfeitures of estates, families reduced to beggery, orphans crying for bread, and such like scenes of distress. The spirits of the people soon grow depress'd---Industry and public spirit die away----Learning, Virtue and Religion are soon extinguished.---No comfort or happiness to be enjoyed in social life, every one will be jealous and distrustful of his nearest friends and neighbours. To such a dreadful state as this, my countrymen, the present measures seem to be swiftly advancing. What free-born Englishman can view such a state of abject slavery as this, tho' at the greatest distance, without having his blood boil with indignation?

Some perhaps may be ready to think the issue of these measures cannot be so bad as has been described. No wonder men used to freedom cannot at once realize all the horrors of slavery. But this is no worse a state, than what now actually takes place in a great part of the world: and why will not the same government produce the same effects in America?

Others may think the British ministry cannot have so bad a scheme as this in view, that officers appointed by the crown cannot be so cruel and barbarous as hath been represented. Probably the ministry mayn't have it all in view at present: probably these officers would not at first be so cruel and barbarous, but there is no telling what men will soon become when entrusted with arbitrary power: such power will more surely intoxicate men than the strongest spirits: the best of men cannot be safely trusted with it. Many men amiable in private life have become monsters of cruelty when entrusted with arbitrary power: such were many of the Roman emperors. Should governors and councils appointed by the crown be entrusted with legislative power over the colonies, and be supported by armies of soldiers quartered among the people, I see not what (according to the ordinary course of things) would keep them from even greater excesses than I have mentioned.

Or should the colonies refuse to receive the chains prepared for them, and the present measures issue in a hostile rupture between Great Britain and the colonies, which God forbid, and which I wish the ministry may not have in view to promote, see what precautions they have early taken either to ruin us, or force us to subjection. To the Canadians who have been long inured to arbitrary government, and so are become fit tools for inslaving others, they have granted an establishment of their religion, the restoration of their former laws, &c. to attach them to their interest:---have continued Canada a military government that they may have store of forces at hand; that they may let loose these with all the force of Canada and all the northern tribes of Indians upon our exposed and helpless frontiers. What else can they have in view in trying so much to gratify the French inhabitants of that province?

Now if the British parliament and ministry continue resolved to prosecute the measures they have entered upon, it seems we must either submit to such a dreadful state of slavery as hath been shewn will be the probable issue of their measures, or must by force and arms stand up in defence of our liberties. The thoughts of either of which is enough to make our blood recoil with horror. Can any person survey the events that have taken place, and yet remain so stupid as not to be shocked at the dreadful prospect before us? Is there a wretch so unfeeling, as not to feel grieved and affected at the injured and violated liberties of America? Is there that tool of arbitrary power among the free-born sons of America, that will dare hold up his head in defence of such measures as these? If there be any such, I am sure I cannot find it in my heart to wish them worse, than to feel the iron rod of slavery, that is now shook over America, till they are brought to a sounder mind.

Having thus given a brief account of the late acts of the British parliament respecting the colonies;---of the grievances the colonies labour under therefrom, and of what the probable consequences of these measures will be. I will very briefly touch upon the last thing proposed viz. what can be done by us in such an alarming crisis.---Some perhaps may think me already too bold in speaking thus freely of the acts of the most respectable legislature in the British empire. But the more I consider the shocking tendency of them, the more difficult I find it to restrain myself within the bounds of decency.---I am sure however there is nothing *treasonable* in feeling oppression when oppressed---nor in groaning under the anguish of it--- as yet I have done little more than express this.---Surely it cannot be *treason* to feel our burdens and weep and mourn and pray on account of them. To pray to God for redress is certainly innocent, and happy it is we have heaven to go to, tho' our prayers should be denied on earth. God hath once and again in answer to prayer wrought eminent deliverance for the oppressed. Remember how he delivered the Jews from Haman's cursed devices. Oft hath he delivered his people of old;---oft the people of New-England;---this affords great encouragement to be fervent in our supplications to the throne of grace. *The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will.* But little will prayer avail us without unfeigned repentance and humiliation before God under the heavy frowns of his righteous providence. We have more reason to be afraid of the vice and wickedness that abounds among us, than of all the arms of Britain. These give us reason to fear lest we have not virtue enough to make use of the properest means of redress, and lest heaven should fight against us. Were a general reformation to take place I make no doubt heaven would find a way for our relief. The present alarming situation of things therefore loudly calls upon us to examine what sins in particular have provoked heaven thus to come out in judgment against us; and perhaps there cannot be a better rule of determining than to enquire what sins these calamities are properly retributive of, and by this rule will not the enslaving the poor *Africans* in the colonies stand forth in the front of the dreadful catalogue? Are not the colonies guilty of forcibly depriving them of their natural rights? Will not the arguments we use in defence of our own liberties against the claims of the British parliament, equally conclude in their favour? And is it not easy to see there is something retributive in the present judgments of heaven? We keep our fellow men in slavery---heaven is suffering others to enslave us. Again I must mention worldliness, covetousness, selfishness, dishonesty, disobedience to constitutional authority, and many other vices as contained in the dismal train, and for which we need to repent and humble ourselves before God . . .

But if ever we would hope for redress from the grievances we labour under; 'tis not only necessary that we repent, reform and pray; but that we unitedly prosecute the most firm and prudent measures for the attainment of it. A very little attention must convince every one of the necessity of our being united. If the colonies are divided or the people in the several colonies are very considerably divided, we are undone. Nothing but the united efforts of America can save us: and if united they must have that weight, which gives me the most sanguine hopes of success. It should then be the concern of every one to labour as far as his influence extends, to promote this necessary union. The determinations of the congress of delegates from the several colonies may be deemed the general voice of America. A concurrence with these we should every one labour to promote. If in every particular we should not be entirely suited; yet the dreadful consequences of disunion should make us cautious how we let it be known. The Congress we hear have come into a conclusion that we *import* no British goods. This is a measure for redress, of which we may very safely and easily make trial. We can with a little self-denial do without the superfluities we receive from Britain. This will doubtless be distressing to the Mother Country and may convince them of the necessity of continuing to us our dear bought rights and privileges. No friend of his country can hesitate a moment in such a cause to deny himself the superfluities of Britain. And should the Congress agree also upon *non-exportation*; and extend both this and the other, not only to Great-Britain but to Ireland and the West-Indies; a general compliance with which, will most certainly, according to the ordinary course of things, ensure us redress; and of which necessity most certainly will be a sufficient justification: Should this I say be agreed upon by the Congress; none I hope will be so inimical to his country, as to attempt to break the general union by refusing to comply therewith. But should there be any such; it becomes every one, that hath any regard to the liberties of his country, to treat with deserved neglect and abhorrence the wretch, that thus meanly seeks his own emoulument upon the ruins of his country's liberties:—To break off all trade and dealings with such selfish miscreants; and make them sensible, that without injuring their lives or property, their injured country can make them feel the weight of her vengeance, and rue the day they ever suffered a selfish spirit to banish all love to their country from their breasts. Here is a sphere in which every one can contribute something to save his sinking country from ruin. Suffer me then to intreat you (of the western parts of the colony of Connecticut) in some proper way to shew your hearty concurrence with other parts of the continent in the cause of American liberty; and your resolution to concur with, an endeavour to carry into execution the conclusions of the American Congress; and to open your hearts to commiserate, and contribute to the relief of the suffering poor of the town of Boston. What hath been said I trust makes it sufficiently appear, that they are suffering in the common cause of American liberty. Allowing the conduct of those individuals who destroyed the tea as criminal as any are disposed to make it, yet the punishment is beyond all bounds disproportionate to the crime:—the innocent are involved with the guilty:—the requirements of the act are such, that it can never be known whether complied with or not:—The act is as compleat an instrument of tyranny as ever was formed.—If the requirements of the act should be complied with; yet all their estates lying in wharves, water-lots, &c. will still lie at the king's mercy. So that the act cannot be complied with without giving up the struggle for liberty. The design in bearing thus hard upon one colony is evidently to divide the colonies; and thus to bring them one after another to submit to the arbitrary claims of parliament. All their means of subsistence depended on their trade which by this act is wholly taken away. So that without assistance from the other colonies, they must inevitably yield, unless so very patriotic, as to be willing to starve to death. Our turn may soon come when we may want the like kind assistance from our brethren. Only apply the golden rule of "doing to others as we would that they should do unto us," and surely we cannot hesitate to contribute to their relief.....I wish the importance of contributing to the relief of Boston might be duly attended to, and that some measures might be come into in all our towns for trying the generosity of people for this purpose. I am sure they that have a sense of the worth of liberty and the importance of making a firm yet decent and harmless opposition to these oppressive measures, which are calculated to rivet the chains of slavery both upon us and our posterity, cannot hesitate a moment to contribute something generous for the relief of that suffering people. May Americans be united in a just sense of the worth of their civil rights and privileges, and in every laudable and righteous method for obtaining redress; and God grant their struggles in so glorious a cause may be crowned with happy success.

2. The Rejection of Parliamentary Authority: James Wilson, *Considerations on the Authority of Parliament* (August 17, 1774)

The coercive acts also goaded Americans into a reconsideration of their constitutional position. For ten years, they had been admitting the right of Parliament to legislate, but not to tax, the colonies. With the Coercive Acts, however, Parliament indicated that it could strike at American liberty and property just as directly through the power to legislate as though the power to tax, and the Americans now denied that Parliament had any authority over the colonies whatever. The most famous and most systematic expression of this view came from James Wilson (1742–1798), a Scotch-Irish lawyer who had migrated to the colonies in 1765, served as tutor at The College of Philadelphia, studied law with John Dickinson, and was in 1774 a practicing attorney at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In his Considerations on the Authority of Parliament, *first written in 1768 but not published until the summer of 1774 after he had made appropriate revisions, Wilson stated categorically that the colonies were "not bound by the acts of the British Parliament." Taking pains to refute all of the arguments advanced by British writers to prove the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies, Wilson contended that according to the constitution all legislation was inextricably dependent upon representation, that because Americans were not represented in Parliament they were not bound by its laws, and that "the only dependency, which they ought to acknowledge, is a dependency on the crown." The central portions of this pamphlet are reprinted here from James DeWitt Andrews, ed.,* The Works of James Wilson *(1896), II, 522–529, 531–542.*

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But from what source does this mighty, this uncontrolled authority of the house of commons flow? From the collective body of the commons of Great Britain. This authority must, therefore, originally reside in them; for whatever they convey to their representatives, must ultimately be in themselves. And have those, whom we have hitherto been accustomed to consider as our fellow-subjects, an absolute and unlimited power over us? Have they a natural right to make laws, by which we may be deprived of our properties, of our liberties, of our lives? By what title do they claim to be our masters? What act of ours has rendered us subject to those, to whom we were formerly equal? Is British freedom denominated from the soil, or from the *people* of Britain? If from the latter, do they lose it by quitting the soil? Do those, who embark, freemen, in Great Britain, disembark, slaves, in America? Are those, who fled from the oppression of regal and ministerial tyranny, now reduced to a state of vassalage to those, who, then, equally felt the same oppression? Whence proceeds this fatal change? Is this the return made us for leaving our friends and our country—for braving the danger of the deep—for planting a wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and savage beasts—for extending the dominions of the British crown—for increasing the trade of the British merchants—for augmenting the rents of the British landlords—for heightening the wages of the British artificers? Britons should blush to make such a claim: Americans would blush to own it.

It is not, however, the ignominy only, but the danger also, with which we are threatened, that affects us. The many and careful provisions which are made by the British constitution, that the electors of members of parliament may be prevented from choosing representatives, who would betray them; and that the representatives may be prevented from betraying their constitutents with impunity, sufficiently evince, that such precautions have been deemed absolutely necessary for securing and maintaining the system of British liberty.

How would the commons of Great Britain startle at a proposal, to deprive them of their share in the legislature, by rendering the house of commons independent of them! With what indignation would they hear it? What resentment would they feel and discover against the authors of it! Yet the commons of Great Britain would suffer less inconvenience from the execution of such a proposal, than the Americans will suffer from the extension of the legislative authority of parliament over them.

The members of parliament, their families, their friends, their posterity must be subject, as well as others, to the laws. Their interest, and that of their families, friends, and posterity, cannot be different from the interest of the rest of the nation. A regard to the former will, therefore, direct to such measures as must promote the latter. But is this the case with respect to America? Are the legislators of Great Britain subject to the laws which are made for the colonies? Is their interest the same with that of the colonies? If we consider it in a large and comprehensive view, we shall discern it to be undoubtedly the same; but few will take the trouble to consider it in that view; and of those who do, few will be influenced by the consideration. Mankind are usually more affected with a near though inferior interest, than with one that is superior but placed at a greater distance. As the conduct is regulated by the passions, it is not to be wondered at, if they secure the former, by measures which will forfeit the latter. Nay, the latter will frequently be regarded in the same manner as if it were prejudicial to them. It is with regret that I produce some late regulations of parliament as proofs of what I have advanced. We have experienced what an easy matter it is for a minister with an ordinary share of art, to persuade the parliament and the people, that taxes laid on the colonies will ease the burthens of the mother country; which, if the matter is considered in a proper light, is, in fact, to persuade them, that the stream of national riches will be increased by closing up the fountain, from which they flow.

As the Americans cannot avail themselves of that check, which interest puts upon the members of parliament, and which would operate in favor of the commons of Great Britain, though they possessed no power over the legislature; so the love of reputation, which is a powerful incitement to the legislators to promote the welfare, and obtain the approbation, of those among whom they live, and whose praises or censures will reach and affect them, may have a contrary operation with regard to the colonies. It may become popular and reputable at home to oppress us. A candidate may recommend himself at his election by recounting the many successful instances, in which he has sacrificed the interests of America to those of Great Britain. A member of the house of commons may plume himself upon his ingenuity in inventing schemes to serve the mother country at the expense of the colonies; and may boast of their impotent resentment against him on that account.

Let us pause here a little.—Does neither the love of gain, the love of praise, nor the love of honor influence the members of the British parliament in favor of the Americans? On what principles, then—on what motives of action, can we depend for the security of our liberties, of our properties, of everything dear to us in life, of life itself? Shall we depend on their veneration for the dictates of natural justice? A very little share of experience in the world—a very little degree of knowledge in the history of men will sufficiently convince us, that a regard to justice is by no means the ruling principle in human nature. He would discover himself to be a very sorry statesman, who would erect a system of jurisprudence upon that slender foundation. "He would make," as my Lord Bacon says, "imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths; and his discourses, like the stars, would give little light, because they are so high."

But this is not the worst that can justly be said concerning the situation of the colonies, if they are bound by the acts of the British legislature. So far are those powerful springs of action, which we have mentioned, from interesting the members of that legislature in our favor, that, as has been already observed, we have the greatest reason to dread their operation against us. While the happy commons of Great Britain congratulate themselves upon the liberty which they enjoy, and upon the provisions—infallible, as far as they can be rendered so by human wisdom—which are made for perpetuating it to their latest posterity; the unhappy Americans have reason to bewail the dangerous situation to which they are reduced; and to look forward, with dismal apprehension, to those future scenes of woe, which, in all probability, will open upon their descendants.

What has been already advanced will suffice to show, that it is repugnant to the essential maxims of jurisprudence, to the ultimate end of all governments, to the genius of the British constitution, and to the liberty and happiness of the colonies, that they should be bound by the legislative authority of the parliament of Great Britain. Such a doctrine is not less repugnant to the voice of her laws. In order to evince this, I shall appeal to some authorities from the books of the law, which show expressly, or by a necessary implication, that the colonies are not bound by the acts of the British parliament; because they have no share in the British legislature.

The first case I shall mention was adjudged in the second year of Richard the Third. It was a solemn determination of all the judges of England, met in the exchequer chamber, to consider whether the people in Ireland were bound by an act of parliament made in England. They resolved, "that they were not, as to such things as were done in Ireland; but that what they did out of Ireland must be conformable to the laws of England, because they were the subjects of England. Ireland," said they, "has a parliament, who make laws; and our statutes do not bind them; *because they do not send knights to parliament;* but their persons are subjects of the king, in the same manner as the inhabitants of Calais, Gascoigne, and Guienne." . . .

From this authority it follows, that it is by no means a rule, that the authority of parliament extends to all the subjects of the crown. The inhabitants of Ireland were the subjects of the king as of his crown of England;

but it is expressly resolved, in the most solemn manner, that the inhabitants of Ireland are not bound by the statutes of England. Allegiance to the king and obedience to the parliament are founded on very different principles. The former is founded on protection; the latter, on representation. An inattention to this difference has produced, I apprehend, much uncertainty and confusion in our ideas concerning the connection, which ought to subsist between Great Britain and the American colonies.

The last observation which I shall make on this case is, that if the inhabitants of Ireland are not bound by acts of parliament made in England, *a fortiori,* the inhabitants of the American colonies are not bound by them. . . .

The American colonies are not bound by the acts of the British parliament, because they are not represented in it. But what reason can be assigned why they should be bound by those acts, in which they are specially named? Does naming them give those, who do them that honor, a right to rule over them? Is this the source of the supreme, the absolute, the irresistible, the uncontrolled authority of parliament? These positions are too absurd to be alleged; and a thousand judicial determinations in their favor would never induce one man of sense to subscribe his assent to them.

The obligatory force of the British statutes upon the colonies, when named in them, must be accounted for, by the advocates of that power, upon some other principle. In my Lord Coke's Reports, it is said, "that albeit Ireland be a distinct dominion, yet, *the title thereof being by conquest,* the same, by judgment of law, may be, by express words, bound by the parliaments of England." In this instance, the obligatory authority of the parliament is plainly referred to a title by conquest, as its foundation and original. . . . It is foreign to my purpose to inquire into the reasonableness of founding the authority of the British parliament over Ireland, upon the title of conquest, though I believe it would be somewhat difficult to deduce it satisfactorily in this manner. It will be sufficient for me to show, that it is unreasonable, and injurious to the colonies, to extend that title to them. How came the colonists to be a conquered people? By whom was the conquest over them obtained? By the house of commons? By the constituents of that house? If the idea of conquest must be taken into consideration when we examine into the title by which America is held, that idea, so far as it can operate, will operate in favor of the colonists, and not against them. Permitted and commissioned by the crown, they undertook, at their own expense, expeditions to this distant country, took possession of it, planted it, and cultivated it. Secure under the protection of their king, they grew and multiplied, and diffused British freedom and British spirit, wherever they came. Happy in the enjoyment of liberty, and in reaping the fruits of their toils; but still more happy in the joyful prospect of transmitting their liberty and their fortunes to the latest posterity, then inculcated to their children the warmest sentiments of loyalty to their sovereign, under whose auspices they enjoyed so many blessings, and of affection and esteem for the inhabitants of the mother country, with whom they gloried in being intimately connected. Lessons of loyalty to parliament, indeed, they never gave: they never suspected that such unheard-of loyalty would be required. They never suspected that their descendants would be considered and treated as a conquered people; and therefore they never taught them the submission and abject behavior suited to that character.

I am sufficiently aware of an objection, that will be made to what I have said concerning the legislative authority of the British parliament. It will be alleged, that I throw off all dependence on Great Britain. This objection will be held forth, in its most specious colors, by those, who, from servility of soul, or from mercenary considerations, would meanly bow their necks to every exertion of arbitrary power: it may likewise alarm some, who entertain the most favorable opinion of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies; but who are not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of that connection, which is so dear to them. Those of the first class, I hope, are few; I am sure they are contemptible, and deserve to have very little regard paid to them: but for the sake of those of the second class, who may be more numerous, and whose laudable principles atone for their mistakes, I shall take some pains to obviate the objection, and to show that a denial of the legislative authority of the British parliament over America is by no means inconsistent with that connection, which ought to subsist between the mother country and her colonies, and which, at the first settlement of those colonies, it was intended to maintain between them; but that, on the contrary, that connection would be entirely destroyed by the extension of the power of parliament over the American plantations.

Let us examine what is meant by a *dependence* on Great Britain: for it is always of importance clearly to define the terms that we use. Blackstone, who, speaking of the colonies, tells us, that "they are no part of the mother country, but distinct (though dependent) dominions," explains dependence in this manner. 'Dependence is very little else, but an obligation to conform to the will or law of that superior person or state, upon which the inferior depends. The original and true ground of this superiority, in the case of Ireland, is what we usually call, though somewhat improperly, the right of consequent; a right allowed by the law of nations, if not by that of nature; but which, in reason and civil policy, can mean nothing more, than that, in order to put an end to hostilities, a compact is either expressly or tacitly made between the conqueror and the conquered, that if they will acknowledge the victor for their master, he will treat them for the future as subjects, and not as enemies."

The original and true ground of the superiority of Great Britain over the American colonies is not shown in any book of the law, unless, as I have already observed, it be derived from the right of conquest. But I have proved, and I hope satisfactorily, that this right is altogether inapplicable to the colonists. The original of the superiority of Great Britain over the colonies is, then, unaccounted for; and when we consider the ingenuity and pains which have lately been employed at home on this subject, we may justly conclude, that the only reason why it is not accounted for, is, that it cannot be accounted for. The superiority of Great Britain over the colonies ought, therefore, to be rejected; and the dependence of the colonies upon her, if it is to be construed into "an obligation to conform to the will or law of the superior state," ought, in *this* sense, to be rejected also.

My sentiments concerning this matter are not singular. They coincide with the declarations and remonstrances of the colonies against the statutes imposing taxes on them. It was their unanimous opinion, that the parliament have no right to exact obedience to those statutes; and, consequently, that the colonies are under no obligation to obey them. The dependence of the colonies on Great Britain was denied, in those instances; but a denial of it in those instances is, in effect, a denial of it in all other instances. For, if dependence is an obligation to conform to the will or law of the superior state, any exceptions to that obligation must destroy the dependence. If, therefore, by a dependence of the colonies on Great Britain, it is meant, that they are obliged to obey the laws of Great Britain, reason, as well as the unanimous voice of the Americans, teaches us to disown it. Such a dependence was never thought of by those who left Britain, in order to settle in America; nor by their sovereigns, who gave them commissions for that purpose. Such an obligation has no correspondent right: for the commons of Great Britain have no dominion over their equals and fellow-subjects in America; they can confer no right to their delegates to bind those equals and fellow-subjects by laws.

There is another, and a much more reasonable meaning, which may be intended by the dependence of the colonies on Great Britain. The phrase may be used to denote the obedience and loyalty, which the colonists owe to the *kings* of Great Britain. If it should be alleged, that this cannot be the meaning of the expression, because it is applied to the kingdom, and not to the king, I give the same answer that my Lord Bacon gave to those who said that allegiance related to the kingdom and not to the king; because in the statutes there are these words—"born within the allegiance of England" —and again—"born without the allegiance of England." "There is no trope of speech more familiar," says he, "than to use the place of addition for the person. So we say commonly, the line of York, or the line of Lancaster, for the lines of the duke of York, or the duke of Lancaster. So we say the possessions of Somerset or Warwick, intending the possessions of the dukes of Somerset, or earls of Warwick. And in the very same manner, the statute speaks, allegiance of England, for allegiance of the king of England."

Dependence on the mother country seems to have been understood in this sense, both by the first planters of the colonies, and also by the most eminent lawyers, at that time, in England.

Those who launched into the unknown deep, in quest of new countries and habitations, still considered themselves as subjects of the English monarchs, and behaved suitably to that character; but it nowhere appears, that they still considered themselves as represented in an English parliament, or that they thought the authority of the English parliament extended over them. They took possession of the country in the *king's* name: they treated, or made war with the Indians by *his* authority: they held the lands under *his* grants, and paid *him* the rents reserved upon them: they established governments under the sanction of *his* prerogative, or by virtue of *his* charters:—no application for those purposes was made to the parliament: no ratification of the charters or letters patent was solicited from that assembly, as is usual in England with regard to grants and franchises of much less importance.

My Lord Bacon's sentiments on this subject ought to have great weight with us. His immense genius, his universal learning, his deep insight into the laws and constitution of England, are well known and much admired.

Besides, he lived at that time when settling and improving the American plantations began seriously to be attended to, and successfully to be carried into execution. Plans for the government and regulation of the colonies were then forming: and it is only from the first general idea of these plans, that we can unfold, with precision and accuracy, all the more minute and intricate parts of which they now consist. "The settlement of colonies," says he, "must proceed from the option of those who will settle them, else it sounds like an exile: they must be raised by the *leave,* and not by the *command* of the *king.* At their setting out, they must have their commission, or letters patent, from the *king,* that so they may acknowledge their *dependency upon the crown* of England, and under his protection." In another place he says "that they still must be subjects of the realm." "In order to regulate all the inconveniences, which will insensibly grow upon them," he proposes, "that the king should erect a subordinate council in England, whose care and charge shall be, to advise, and put in execution, all things which shall be found fit for the good of those new plantations; who, upon all occasions, shall give an account of their proceedings, to the king or the council board and from *them* receive such directions, as may best agree with the government of that place." It is evident, from these quotations, that my Lord Bacon had no conception that the parliament would or ought to interpose, either in the settlement or the government of the colonies. The only relation, in which he says the colonists must still continue, is that of subjects: the only dependency, which they ought to acknowledge, is a dependency on the crown.

This is a dependence, which they have acknowledged hitherto; which they acknowledge now; and which, if it is reasonable to judge of the future by the past and the present, they will continue to acknowledge hereafter. It is not a dependence, like that contended for on parliament, slavish and unaccountable, or accounted for only by principles that are false and inapplicable: it is a dependence founded upon the principles of reason, of liberty and of law. Let us investigate its sources.

The colonists ought to be dependent on the king, because they have hitherto enjoyed, and still continue to enjoy, his protection. Allegiance is the faith and obedience, which every subject owes to his prince. This obedience is founded on the protection derived from government: for protection and allegiance are the reciprocal bonds, which connect the prince and his subjects. Every subject, so soon as he is born, is under the royal protection, and is entitled to all the advantages arising from it. He therefore owes obedience to that royal power, from which the protection, which he enjoys, is derived. But while he continues in infancy and nonage, he cannot perform the duties which his allegiance requires. The performance of them must be respited till he arrive at the years of discretion and maturity. When he arrives at those years, he owes obedience, not only for the protection which he now enjoys, but also for that which from his birth, he has enjoyed; and to which his tender age has hitherto prevented him from making a suitable return. Allegiance now becomes a duty founded upon principles of gratitude, as well as on principles of interest: it becomes a debt, which nothing but the loyalty of a whole life will discharge. As neither climate, nor soil, nor time entitle a person to the benefits of a subject; so an alteration of climate, of soil, or of time cannot release him from the duties of one. An Englishman, who removes to foreign countries, however distant from England, owes the same allegiance to his king there which he owed him at home; and will owe it twenty years hence as much as he owes it now. Wherever he is, he is still liable to the punishment annexed by law to crimes against his allegiance; and still entitled to the advantages promised by law to the duties of it: it is not cancelled; and it is not forfeited. "Hence all children born in any part of the world, if they be of English parents continuing at that time as liege subjects to the king, and having done no act to forfeit the benefit of their allegiance, are *ipso facto* naturalized: and if they have issue, and their descendants intermarry among themselves, such descendants are naturalized to all generations." . . .

Now we have explained the dependence of the Americans. They are the subjects of the king of Great Britain. They owe him allegiance. They have a right to the benefits which arise from preserving that allegiance inviolate. They are liable to the punishments which await those who break it. This in a dependence, which they have always boasted of. The principles of loyalty are deeply rooted in their hearts; and there they will grow and bring forth fruit, while a drop of vital blood remains to nourish them. Their history is not stained with rebellious and treasonable machinations: an inviolable attachments to their sovereign, and the warmest zeal for his glory, shine in every page.

From this dependence, abstracted from every other source, arises a strict connection between the inhabitants of Great Britain and those of America. They are fellow-subjects; they are under allegiance to the same prince; and this union of allegiance naturally produces a union of hearts. It is also productive of a union of measures through the whole British dominions. To the king is intrusted the direction and management of the great machine of government. He therefore is fittest to adjust the different wheels, and to regulate their motions in such a manner as to co-operate in the same general designs. He makes war: he concludes peace: he forms alliances: he regulates domestic trade by his prerogative, and directs foreign commerce by his treaties with those nations, with whom it is carried on. He names the officers of government; so that he can check every jarring movement in the administration. He has a negative on the different legislatures throughout his dominions, so that he can prevent any repugnancy in their different laws.

The connection and harmony between Great Britain and us, which it is her interest and ours mutually to cultivate, and on which her prosperity, as well as ours, so materially depends, will be better preserved by the operation of the legal prerogatives of the crown, than by the exertion of an unlimited authority by parliament.

3. A Warning to the King: Thomas Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British-America* (August 1774)

Farther south in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), another lawyer and a representative from Albemarle County to the House of Bur-

gesses, had come to similar conclusions and had set them down in a series of proposed instructions to Virginia's delegates to the Congress. Jefferson intended to present his instructions to the Virginia Convention that met in August 1774 to elect delegates to the Congress. But, when illness prevented his attendance, he sent them to friends who had them published in pamphlet form as A Summary View of the Rights of British-America. *Like Baldwin, Jefferson concluded that the several "acts of power" by Parliament over the previous decade "too plainly" proved "a deliberate and systematical plan of reducing us to slavery"; like Wilson, he concluded as well that the colonies were distinct and independent governments bound to Britain only through their mutual allegiance to a common monarch and that the British Parliament had therefore "no right to exercise authority" over them. But Jefferson went significantly further than either Baldwin or Wilson in pointing out that not just Parliament but George III acting in his executive capacity had been guilty of a "wanton exercise of . . . power" in the colonies. Charging the King with a long catalogue of oppressive acts against the colonies, Jefferson reminded him that kings were "the servants, not the proprietors of the people" and left him with a warning: if he persisted in "sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another," Jefferson implied, the colonists might be driven to a separation. Although Jefferson's views were far too radical to receive the approval of either the Virginia Convention or the Congress, they were important as a harbinger of the direction of American thought. The text of* A Summary View *is printed in full below from the edition published in Philadelphia in 1774 by John Dunlap.*

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RESOLVED, that it be an instruction to the said deputies, when assembled in general congress with the deputies from the other states of British America, to propose to the said congress that an humble and dutiful address be presented to his Majesty, begging leave to lay before him, as Chief Magistrate of the British empire, the united complaints of his Majesty's subjects in America; complaints which are excited by many unwarrantable encroachments and usurpations, attempted to be made by the Legislature of one part of the empire, upon those rights which God and the laws have given equally and independently to all. To represent to his Majesty that these his states have often individually made humble application to his imperial throne to obtain, through its intervention, some redress of their injured rights, to none of which was ever even an answer condescended; humbly to hope that this their joint address, penned in the language of truth, and divested of those expressions of servility which would persuade his Majesty that we are asking favours, and not rights, shall obtain from his Majesty a more respectful acceptance. And this his Majesty will think we have reason to expect when he reflects that he is no more than the chief officer of the people, appointed by the laws, and circumscribed with definitive powers, to assist in working the great machine of government, erected for their use, and consequently subject to their superintendance. And in order that these our rights, as well as the invasions of them, may be laid more fully before his Majesty, to take a view of them from the origin and first settlement of these countries.

To remind him that our ancestors before their emigration to America, were the free inhabitants of the British dominions in Europe, and possessed a right which nature has given to all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice, has placed them, of going in quest of new habitations, and of there establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness. That their Saxon ancestors had under this universal law, in like manner left their native wilds and woods in the north of Europe, had possessed themselves of the island of Britain, then less charged with inhabitants, and had established there that system of laws which has so long been the glory and protection of that country. Nor was ever any claim of superiority or dependence asserted over them by that mother country from which they had migrated; and were such a claim made, it is believed that his Majesty's subjects in Great-Britain have too firm a feeling of the rights derived to them from their ancestors, to bow down the sovereignty of their state before such visionary pretensions. And it is thought that no circumstance has occurred to distinguish materially the British from the Saxon emigration. America was conquered, and her settlements made, and firmly established, at the expence of individuals, and not of the British public. Their own blood was spilt in acquiring lands for their settlement, their own fortunes expended in making that settlement effectual; for themselves they fought, for themselves they conquered, and for themselves alone they have right to hold. Not a shilling was ever issued from the public treasures of his Majesty, or his ancestors, for their assistance, till of very late times, after the colonies had become established on a firm and permanent footing. That then, indeed, having become valuable to Great-Britain for her commercial purposes, his Parliament was pleased to lend them assistance against an enemy, who would fain have drawn to herself the benefits of their commerce, to the great aggrandizment of herself, and danger of Great-Britain. Such assistance, and in such circumstances, they had often before given to Portugal, and other allied states, with whom they carry on a commercial intercourse; yet these states never supposed, that by calling in her aid, they thereby submitted themselves to her sovereignty. Had such terms been proposed, they would have rejected them with disdain, and trusted for better to the moderation of their enemies, or to a vigorous exertion of their own force. We do not, however, mean to under-rate those aids, which to us were doubtless valuable, on whatever principles granted; but we would shew that they cannot give a title to that authority which the British Parliament would arrogate over us, and that they may amply be repaid by our giving to the inhabitants of Great-Britain such exclusive privileges in trade as may be advantageous to them, and at the same time not too restrictive to ourselves. That settlements having been thus effected in the wilds of America, the emigrants thought proper to adopt that system of laws under which they had hitherto lived in the mother country, and to continue their union with her by submitting themselves to the same common Sovereign, who was thereby made the central link connecting the several parts of the empire thus newly multiplied.

But that not long were they permitted, however far they thought themselves removed from the hand of oppression, to hold undisturbed the rights thus acquired, at the hazard of their lives, and loss of their fortunes. A family of princes was then on the British throne, whose treasonable crimes against their people brought on them afterwards the exertion of those sacred and sovereign rights of punishment reserved in the hands of the people for cases of extreme necessity, and judged by the constitution unsafe to be delegated to any other judicature. While every day brought forth some new and unjustifiable exertion of power over their subjects on that side the water, it was not to be expected that those here, much less able at that time to oppose the designs of despotism, should be exempted from injury.

Accordingly that country, which had been acquired by the lives, the labours, and the fortunes of individual adventurers, was by these princes at several times, parted out and distributed among the favourites and followers of their fortunes, and, by an assumed right of the crown alone, were erected into distinct and independent governments; a measure which it is believed his Majesty's prudence and understanding would prevent him from imitating at this day, as no exercise of such a power, of dividing and dismembering a country, has ever occurred in his Majesty's realm of England, though now of very ancient standing; nor could it be justified or acquiesced under there, or in any other part of his Majesty's empire.

That the exercise of a free trade with all parts of the world, possessed by the American colonists, as of natural right, and which no law of their own had taken away or abridged, was next the object of unjust encroachment. Some of the colonies having thought proper to continue the administration of their government in the name and under the authority of his Majesty King Charles the First, whom notwithstanding his late deposition by the commonwealth of England, they continued in the sovereignty of their state; the Parliament for the commonwealth took the same in high offence, and assumed upon themselves the power of prohibiting their trade with all other parts of the world, except the island of Great-Britain. This arbitrary act, however, they soon recalled, and by solemn treaty, entered into on the 12th day of March, 1651, between the said commonwealth by their commissioners, and the colony of Virginia by their house of burgesses, it was expressly stipulated, by the 8th article of the said treaty, that they should have "free trade as the people of England do enjoy to all places and with all nations, according to the laws of that commonwealth." But that, upon the restoration of his majesty king Charles the second, their rights of free commerce fell once more a victim to arbitrary power; and by several acts of his reign, as well as of some of his successors, the trade of the colonies was laid under such restrictions, as shew what hopes they might form from the justice of a British parliament, were its uncontrouled power admitted over these states. History has informed us that bodies of men, as well as individuals, are susceptible of the spirit of tyranny. A view of these acts of parliament for regulation, as it has been affectedly called, of the American trade, if all other evidence were removed out of the case, would undeniably evince the truth of this observation. Besides the duties they impose on our article of export and import, they prohibit our going to any markets northward of Cape Finisterre, in the kingdom of Spain, for the sale of commodities which Great Britain will not take from us, and for the purchase of others, with which she cannot supply us, and that for no other than the arbitrary purposes of purchasing for themselves, by a sacrifice of our rights and interests, certain privileges in their commerce with an allied state, who in confidence that their exclusive trade with America will be continued, while the principles and power of the British parliament be the same, have indulged themselves in every exorbitance which their avarice could dictate, or our necessities extort; have raised their commodities called for in America, to the double and treble of what they sold for before such exclusive privileges were given them, and of what better commodities of the same kind would cost us elsewhere, and at the same time give us much less for what we carry thither than might be had at more convenient ports. That these acts prohibit us from carrying in quest of other purchasers the surplus of our tobaccoes remaining after the consumption of Great Britain is supplied; so that we must leave them with the British merchant for whatever he will please to allow us, to be by him reshipped to foreign markets, where he will reap the benefits of making sale of them for full value. That to heighten still the idea of parliamentary justice, and to shew with what moderation they are like to exercise power, where themselves are to feel no part of its weight, we take leave to mention to his majesty's certain other acts of British parliament, by which they would prohibit us from manufacturing for our own use the articles we raise on our own lands with our own labour. By an act passed in the 5th year of the reign of his late majesty king George the second, an American subject is forbidden to make a hat for himself of the fur which he has taken perhaps on his own soil; an instance of despotism to which no parallel can be produced in the most arbitrary ages of British history. By one other act passed in the 23d year of the same reign, the iron which we make we are forbidden to manufacture, and heavy as that article is, and necessary in every branch of husbandry, besides commission and insurance, we are to pay freight for it to Great Britain, and freight for it back again, for the purpose of supporting not men, but machines, in the island of Great Britain. In the same spirit of equal and impartial legislation is to be viewed the act of parliament passed in the 5th year of the same reign, by which American lands are made subject to the demands of British creditors, while their own lands were still continued unanswerable for their debts; from which one of these conclusions must necessarily follow, either that justice is not the same in America as in Britain, or else that the British parliament pay less regard to it here than there. But that we do not point out to his majesty the injustice of these acts, with intent to rest on that principle the cause of their nullity; but to shew that experience confirms the propriety of those political principles which exempt us from the jurisdiction of the British parliament. The true ground on which we declare these acts void is, that the British parliament has no right to exercise authority over us.

That these exercises of usurped power have not been confined to instances alone, in which themselves were interested, but they have also intermeddled with the regulation of the internal affairs of the colonies. The act of the 9th of Anne for establishing a post office in America seems to have had little connexion with British convenience, except that of accommodating his majesty's ministers and favourites with the sale of a lucrative and easy office.

That thus we have hastened through the reigns which preceded his majesty's, during which the violations of our right were less alarming, because repeated at more distant intervals than that rapid and bold succession of injuries which is likely to distinguish the present from all other periods of

American story. Scarcely have our minds been able to emerge from the astonishment into which one stroke of parliamentary thunder has involved us, before another more heavy, and more alarming, is fallen on us. Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed to the accidental opinion of a day; but a series of oppressions begun at a distinguished period, and pursued, unalterably through every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate and systematical plan of reducing us to slavery.

That the act, passed in the 4th year of his majesty's reign, entitled "An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c."

One other act, passed inthe 6th year of his reign, entitled "An act for the better securing the dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain;" and one other act, passed in the 7th year of his reign, entitled "An act for granting duties on paper, tea, &c." form that connected chain of parliamentary usurpation, which has already been the subject of frequent applications to his majesty, and the houses of lords and commons of Great Britain; and no answers having yet been condescended to any of these, we shall not trouble his majesty with a repetition of the matters they contained.

But that one other act, passed in the same 7th year of the reign, having been a peculiar attempt, must ever require peculiar mention; it is entituled "An act for suspending the legislature of New York." One free and independant legislature hereby takes upon itself to suspend the powers of another, free and independent as itself; thus exhibiting a phenomenon unknown in nature, the creator and creature of its own power. Not only the principles of common sense, but the common feelings of human nature, must be surrendered up before his majesty's subjects here can be persuaded to believe that they hold their political existence at the will of a British parliament. Shall these governments be dissolved, their property annihilated, and their people reduced to a state of nature, at the imperious breath of a body of men, whom they never saw, in whom they never confided, and over whom they have no powers of punishment or removal, let their crimes against the American public be ever so great? Can any one reason be assigned why 160,000 electors in the island of Great Britain should give law to four millions in the states of America, every individual of whom is equal to every individual of them, in virtue, in understanding, and in bodily strength? Were this to be admitted, instead of being a free people, as we have hitherto supposed, and mean to continue ourselves, we should suddenly be found the slaves not of one but of 160,000 tyrants distinguished too from all others by this singular circumstance, that they are removed from the reach of fear, the only restraining motive which may hold the hand of a tyrant.

That by "an act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America," which was passed at the last session of British parliament; a large and populous town, whose trade was their sole subsistence, was deprived of that trade, and involved in utter ruin. Let us for a while suppose the question of right suspended, in order to examine this act on principles of justice. An act of parliament had been passed imposing duties on teas, to be paid in America, against which act the Americans had protested as inauthoritative. The East India Company, who till that time had never sent a pound of tea to America on their own account, step forth on that occasion the assertors of parliamentary right, and send hither many ship loads of that obnoxious commodity. The masters of their several vessels, however, on their arrival in America, wisely attended to admonition, and returned with their cargoes. In the province of New England alone the remonstrances of the people were disregarded, and a compliance, after being many days waited for, was flatly refused. Whether in this the master of the vessel was governed by his obstinacy, or his instructions, let those who know say. There are extraordinary situations which require extraordinary interposition. An exasperated people, who feel that they possess power, are not easily restrained within limits strictly regular. A number of them assembled in the town of Boston, threw the tea into the ocean, and dispersed without doing any other act of violence. If in this they did wrong, they were known and were amenable to the laws of the land, against which it could not be objected that they had ever, in any instance, been obstructed or diverted from their regular course in favour of popular offenders. They should therefore not have been distrusted on this occasion.

But that ill fated colony had formerly been bold in their enmities against the house of Stuart, and were now devoted to ruin by that unseen hand which governs the momentous affairs of this great empire. On the partial representations of a few worthless ministerial dependents, whose constant office it has been to keep that government embroiled, and who, by their treacheries, hope to obtain the dignity of the British knighthood, without calling for the party accused, without asking a proof, without attempting a distinction between the guilty and the innocent, the whole of that ancient and wealthy town is in a moment reduced from opulence to beggary. Men who had spent their lives in extending the British commerce, who had invested in that place the wealth their honest endeavors had merited, found themselves and their families thrown at once on the world for subsistence by its charities. Not the hundredth part of the inhabitants of that town had been concerned in the act complained of, many of them were in Great Britain and in other parts beyond sea, yet all were involved in one indiscriminate ruin, by a new executive power unheard of till then, that of a British parliament. A property, of the value of many millions of money, was sacrificed to revenge, not repay, the loss of a few thousands. This is administering justice with a heavy hand indeed! and when is this tempest to be arrested in its course? Two wharfs are to be opened again when his Majesty shall think proper. The residue, which lined the extensive shores of the bay of Boston, are forever interdicted the exercise of commerce. This little exception seems to have been thrown in for no other purpose than that of setting a precedent for investing his majesty with legislative powers. If the pulse of his people shall beat calmly under this experiment, another and another will be tried, till the measure of despotism be filled up. It would be an insult on common sense to pretend that this exception was made in order to restore its commerce to that great town. The trade which cannot be received at two wharfs alone must of necessity be transferred to some other place; to which it will soon be followed by that of the two wharfs. Considered in this light, it would be an insolent and cruel mockery at the annihilation of the town of Boston.

By the act for the suppression of riots and tumults in the town of Boston, passed also in the last session of parliament, a murder committed there is, if the governor pleases, to be tried in a court of King's Bench, in the island of Great Britain, by a jury of Middlesex. The witnesses, too, on receipt of such a sum as the governor shall think it reasonable for them to expend, are to enter into recognizance to appear at the trial. This is, in other words, taxing them to the amount of their recognizance, and that amount may be whatever a governor pleases; for who does his majesty think can be prevailed on to cross the Atlantic for the sole purpose of bearing evidence to a fact? His expences are to be borne, indeed, as they shall be estimated by a governor; but who are to feed the wife and children whom he leaves behind, and who have had no other subsistence but his daily labour? Those epidemical disorders too, so terrible in a foreign climate, is the cure of them to be estimated among the articles of expence, and their danger to be warded off by the almighty power of parliament? And the wretched criminal, if he happen to have offended on the American side, stripped of his privilege of trial by peers of his vicinage, removed from the place where alone full evidence could be obtained, without money, without counsel, without friends, without exculpatory proof, is tried before judges predetermined to condemn. The cowards who would suffer a countryman to be torn from the bowels of their society, in order to be thus offered a sacrifice to parliamentary tyranny, would merit that everlasting infamy now fixed on the authors of the act! A clause for a similar purpose had been introduced into an act passed in the twelfth year of his majesty's reign, entitled "An act for the better securing and preserving his majesty's dockyards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores," against which, as meriting the same censures, the several colonies have already protested.

That these are acts of power, assumed by a body of men, foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws, against which we do, on behalf of the inhabitants of British America, enter this our solemn and determined protest; and we do earnestly entreat his majesty, as yet the only mediatory power between the several states of the British empire, to recommend to his parliament of Great Britain the total revocation of these acts, which, however nugatory they be, may yet prove the cause of further discontents and jealousies among us.

That we next proceed to consider the conduct of his majesty, as holding the executive powers of the laws of these states, and mark out his deviations from the line of duty: By the constitution of Great Britain, as well as of the several American states, his majesty possesses the power of refusing to pass into a law any bill which has already passed the other two branches of legislature. His majesty, however, and his ancestors, conscious of the impropriety of opposing their single opinion to the united wisdom of two houses of parliament, while their proceedings were unbiassed by interested principles, for several ages past have modestly declined the exercise of this power in that part of his empire called Great Britain. But by change of circumstances, other principles than those of justice simply have obtained an influence on their determinations; the addition of new states to the British empire has produced an addition of new, and sometimes opposite interests. It is now, therefore, the great office of his majesty, to resume the exercise of his negative power, and to prevent the passage of laws by any one legislature of the empire, which might bear injuriously on the rights and interests of another. Yet this will not excuse the wanton exercise of this power which we have seen his Majesty practice on the laws of the American legislatures. For the most trifling reasons, and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative: Thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few African corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice. Nay, the single interposition of an interested individual against a law was scarcely ever known to fail of success, though in the opposite scale were placed the interests of a whole country. That this is so shameful an abuse of a power trusted with his majesty for other purposes, as if not reformed, would call for some legal restrictions.

With equal inattention to the necessities of his people here has his majesty permitted our laws to lie neglected in England for years, neither confirming them by his assent, nor annulling them by his negative; so that such of them as have no suspending clause we hold on the most precarious of all tenures, his majesty's will, and such of them as suspend themselves till his majesty's assent be obtained, we have feared, might be called into existence at some future and distant period, when time and change of circumstances shall have rendered them destructive to his people here. And to render this grievance still more oppressive, his majesty by his instructions has laid his governors under such restrictions that they can pass no law of any moment unless it have such suspending clause; so that, however immediate may be the call for legislative interposition, the law cannot be executed till it has twice crossed the Atlantic, by which time the evil may have spent its whole force.

But in what terms, reconciliable to majesty, and at the same time to truth, shall we speak of a late instruction to his majesty's governor of the colony of Virginia, by which he is forbidden to assent to any law for the division of a county, unless the new county will consent to have no representative in assembly? That colony has as yet fixed no boundary to the westward. Their western counties, therefore, are of indefinite extent; some of them are actually seated many hundred miles from their eastern limits. Is it possible, then, that his majesty can have bestowed a single thought on the situation of those people, who, in order to obtain justice for injuries, however great or small, must, by the laws of that colony, attend their county court, at such a distance, with all their witnesses, monthly, till their litigation be determined? Or does his majesty seriously wish, and publish it to the world, that his subjects should give up the glorious right of representation, with all the benefits derived from that, and submit themselves the absolute slaves of his sovereign will? Or is it rather meant to confine the legislative body to their present numbers, that they may be the cheaper bargain whenever they shall become worth a purchase.

One of the articles of impeachment against Tresilian, and the other judges of Westminister-Hall, in the reign of Richard the second, for which they suffered death, as traitors to their country, was, that they had advised the king that he might dissolve his parliament at any time; and succeeding kings have adopted the opinion of these unjust judges. Since the establishment, however, of the British constitution, at the glorious revolution, on its free and antient principles, neither his majesty, nor his ancestors, have exercised such a power of dissolution in the island of Great Britain; and when his majesty was petitioned, by the united voice of his people there, to dissolve the present parliament, who had become obnoxious to them, his ministers were heard to declare, in open parliament, that his majesty possessed no such power by the constitution. But how different their language and his practice here! To declare, as their duty required, the known rights of their country, to oppose the usurpations of every foreign judicature, to disregard the imperious mandates of a minister or governor, have been the avowed causes of dissolving houses of representatives in America. But if such powers be really vested in his majesty, can he suppose they are there placed to awe the members from such purposes as these? When the representative body have lost the confidence of their constituents, when they have notoriously made sale of their most valuable rights, when they have assumed to themselves powers which the people never put into their hands, then indeed their continuing in office becomes dangerous to the state, and calls for an exercise of the power of dissolution. Such being the causes for which the representative body should, and should not, be dissolved, will it not appear strange to an unbiassed observer, that that of Great Britain was not dissolved, while those of the colonies have repeatedly incurred that sentence?

But your majesty, or your governors, have carried this power beyond every limit known, or provided for, by the laws: After dissolving one house of representatives, they have refused to call another, so that for a great length of time, the legislature provided by the laws has been out of existence. From the nature of things, every society must at all times possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation. The feelings of human nature revolt against the supposition of a state so situated as that it may not in any emergency provide against dangers which perhaps threaten immediate ruin. While those bodies are in existence to whom the people have delegated the powers of legislation, they alone possess and may exercise those powers; but when they are dissolved by the lopping off one or more of their branches, the power reverts to the people, who may exercise it to unlimited extent, either assembling together in person, sending deputies, or in any other way they may think proper. We forbear to trace consequences further; the dangers are conspicuous with which this practice is replete.

That we shall at this time also take notice of an error in the nature of our land holdings, which crept in at a very early period of our settlement. The introduction of the feudal tenures into the kingdom of England, though ancient, is well enough understood to set this matter in a proper light. In the earlier ages of the Saxon settlement feudal holdings were certainly altogether unknown; and very few, if any, had been introduced at the time of the

Norman conquest. Our Saxon ancestors held their lands, as they did their personal property, in absolute dominion, disencumbered with any superior, answering nearly to the nature of those possessions which the feudalists term allodial. William, the Norman, first introduced that system generally. The lands which had belonged to those who fell in the battle of Hastings, and in the subsequent insurrections of his reign, formed a considerable proportion of the lands of the whole kingdom. These he granted out, subject to feudal duties, as did he also those of a great number of his new subjects, who, by persuasions or threats, were induced to surrender them for that purpose. But still much was left in the hands of his Saxon subjects: held of no superior, and not subject to feudal conditions. These, therefore, by express laws, enacted to render uniform the system of military defence, were made liable to the same military duties as if they had been feuds; and the Norman lawyers soon found means to saddle them also with all the other feudal burthens. But still they had not been surrendered to the king, they were not derived from his grant, and therefore they were not holden of him. A general principle, indeed, was introduced, that "all lands in England were held either mediately or immediately of the crown," but this was borrowed from those holdings, which were truly feudal, and only applied to others for the purposes of illustration. Feudal holdings were therefore but exceptions out of the Saxon laws of possession, under which all lands were held in absolute right. These, therefore, still form the basis, or ground-work, of the common law, to prevail wheresoever the exceptions have not taken place. America was not conquered by William the Norman, nor its lands surrendered to him, or any of his successors. Possessions there are undoubtedly of the allodial nature. Our ancestors, however, who migrated hither, were farmers, not lawyers. The fictitious principle that all lands belong originally to the king, they were early persuaded to believe real; and accordingly took grants of their own lands from the crown. And while the crown continued to grant for small sums, and on reasonable rents, there was no inducement to arrest the error, and lay it open to public view. But his majesty has lately taken on him to advance the terms of purchase, and of holding to the double of what they were, by which means the acquisition of lands being rendered difficult, the population of our country is likely to be checked. It is time, therefore, for us to lay this matter before his majesty, and to declare that he has no right to grant lands of himself. From the nature and purpose of civil institutions, all the lands within the limits which any particular society has circumscribed around itself are assumed by that society, and subject to their allotment only. This may be done by themselves assembled collectively, or by their legislature, to whom they may have delegated sovereign authority; and if they are allotted in neither of these ways, each individual of the society may appropriate to himself such lands as he finds vacant, and occupancy will give him title.

That in order to enforce the arbitrary measures before complained of, his majesty has from time to time sent among us large bodies of armed forces. not made up of the people here, nor raised by the authority of our laws: Did his majesty possess such a right as this, it might swallow up all our other rights whenever he should think proper. But his majesty has no right to land a single armed man on our shores, and those whom he sends here are liable to our laws made for the suppression and punishment of riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies; or are hostile bodies, invading us in defiance of law. When in the course of the late war it became expedient that a body of Hanoverian troops should be brought over for the defence of Great Britain, his majesty's grandfather, our late sovereign, did not pretend to introduce them under any authority he possessed. Such a measure would have given just alarm to his subjects in Great Britain, whose liberties would not be safe if armed men of another country, and of another spirit, might be brought into the realm at any time without the consent of their legislature. He therefore applied to parliament, who passed an act for that purpose, limiting the number to be brought in, and the time they were to continue. In like manner is his majesty restrained in every part of the empire. He possesses, indeed, the the executive power of the laws in every state, but they are the laws of the particular state which he is to administer within that state, and not those of any one within the limits of another. Every state must judge for itself the number of armed men which they may safely trust among them, of whom they are to consist, and under what restrictions they shall be laid.

To render these proceedings still more criminal against our laws, instead of subjecting the military to the civil powers, his majesty has expressly made the civil subordinate to the military. But can his majesty thus put down all law under his feet? Can he erect a power superior to that which erected himself? He has done it indeed by force, but let him remember that force cannot give right.

That these are our grievances, which we have thus laid before his majesty, with that freedom of language and sentiment which becomes a free people claiming their rights, as derived from the laws of nature, and not as the gift of their chief magistrate: Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American art. To give praise which is not due might be well from the venal, but would ill beseem those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know, and will therefore say, that kings are the servants, not the proprietors of the people. Open your breast, sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George the third be a blot in the page of history. You are surrounded by British counsellors, but remember that they are parties. You have no ministers for American affairs, because you have none taken from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behoves you, therefore, to think and to act for yourself and your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty, and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire. This, sire, is the advice of your great American council, on the observance of which may perhaps depend your felicity and future fame, and the preservation of that harmony which alone can continue both to Great Britain and America the reciprocal advantages of their connection. It is neither our wish nor our interest to separate from her. We are willing, on our part, to sacrifice every thing which reason can ask to the restoration of that tranquillity for which all must wish. On their part, let them be ready to establish union and a generous plan. Let them name their terms, but let them be just. Accept of every commercial preference it is in our power to give for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets to dispose of those commodities which they cannot use, or to supply those wants which they cannot supply. —Still less let it be proposed that our properties within our own territories shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth but our own. The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This, sire, is our last; our determined resolution; and that you will be pleased to interpose with that efficacy which your earnest endeavours may ensure to procure redress of these our great grievances, to quiet the minds of your subjects in British America, against any apprehensions of future encroachment, to establish fraternal love and harmony through the whole empire, and that these may continue to the latest ages of time, is the fervent prayer of all British America!

4. The Search for a Middle Way: Joseph Galloway to Richard Jackson (August 10, 1774)

Alarmed by the drift of events, a sizeable number of Americans opposed the dominant stream of colonial thought and in one way or another attempted to reverse it. Some of these men simply believed that Parliament and the ministry were justified in punishing Massachusetts Bay; others were men of faint heart who thought it was folly to oppose the power of Britain; and still others tried to seek out some middle ground that would compromise the issues in dispute and put an end to the now seemingly chronic difficulties between Britain and the colonies. Representative of this last group and one of the few men from any of the three categories to be elected as a delegate to the Congress was Joseph Galloway (ca. 1731–1803), Philadelphia lawyer, nominal head of the Quaker political faction in Pennsylvania, speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and long-time advocate of a moderate approach to the dispute with Britain. As he indicated in a letter, written less than a month before the convocation of Congress to Richard Jackson, an old friend and member of Parliament, he rejected the extreme position of both sides and was convinced that "both Countries should retreat a little" in order to find some compromise, some "constitutional" solution that would be acceptable to both parties. The letter is printed in full below from Jack P. Greene, ed., Colonies to Nation 1763–1789 *(1967), 239–241.*

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. . . I have ever been of Opinion with You, that the Interest of Great Britain and her Colonies never can be separated upon any Principle of Policy or Good to either: but that their Happiness, their Dignity and Reputation among other Nations, with their common Safety, depend upon a solid political Union, to be formed on a Foundation very different from any that has been yet laid by the Friends and Advocates of their Country. In this Opinion I stand here almost alone; and perhaps, were I to remove to your great Capitol, where the most important Matters are decided, I should not be less so. However that might be, upon repeated Reviews of the Subject, and an impartial Examination of all that has been said and wrote upon it, I cannot say that I have had the least Reason to alter my Sentiments. Volumes have been written, and yet nothing is proposed, which carries with it the Appearance of a lasting Accommodation of the Dispute. On the one Side, the Advocates contend that the parliamentary Jurisdiction ought to be exercised over near 3,000,000 of People, none of whom have the least Participation in that Jurisdiction, or any Opportunity of communicating their Desires, Wants, and Necessities to it, which alone can enable it to form Regulations adapted to their Circumstances, or prevent those Regulations from being, in their Execution, attended with more Mischief than Benefit, and subversive of the End for which they were enacted. Certainly this Doctrine cannot be founded in Reason or Common Sense, in any Equity, or in the Nature, Policy, or Principles of the English Government. If not; is it unreasonable to expect the same Discontent will fill the Breasts of the Americans; which actuated the People of Wales, Chesire and Durham, when in the same unhappy Situation; when the like Doctrine was held and practised over them? And will not this Discontent be attended with Effects more mischievous and dangerous, where it takes Place in a People at the Distance, from the Seat of Power, of 3000 Miles, and more, especially as there is almost a moral Certainty, that their Numbers will increase tenfold in one Century?

These Reasons induce me to wish, that the Politicians on your side the Water had condescended and taken the Matter up a little deeper at the End of the last War, and, instead of passing the Stamp-Act, they had cast their Thoughts upon the most proper Plan for cementing the two Countries together upon such Principles of Government and Policy, as would have enabled them to obtain what they wanted, and secured to America the same Rights and Privileges as are enjoyed by the Subjects in Britain. A Plan of this Nature would in all Probability have succeeded in America at that Time, when the Omissions of Duty in the Colonies, the Deficiencies in their Contributions to the Expence which was necessary to the national Safety, the Inequality and Injustice of those Contributions among themselves, their weak and defenceless Situation arising from their Disunion, and heavy Sums, expended during War by the Mother State in their Defence, were obvious and had made deep Impressions of Gratitude and Affection. However this was not done. And perhaps it may be said, with some Reason, that such a Proposal should have originated in America, as she was inferior and the Party who sought Redress. I will not controvert such an Opinion. It was a Duty, as I thought, which America owed to herself as well as to Britain to do so; and I accordingly declared my Sentiments, but to no Purpose. For the American Advocates, instead of attending to the Want of a political Connection between the two Countries upon Principles of Equity, of Reason, and those Rights which were enjoyed by our Brethren in Britain exerted all their Talents in denying the constitutional Authority of the British State to bid the Colonies, because they were not expressly represented in her Councils, and at the same Time declaring, that they will not accept of such Representation should it be offered to them; in tracing the American Rights up to Sources from which they never came, and where they never will be found, and in forming Lines of Jurisdiction most whimsical and novel; all which, instead of healing, had a manifest Tendency to widen the Breach, and to involve themselves and their Country in the severe Measures, which are now put in Practice towards them.

Is it not high Time, my dear Sir, that both Countries should retreat a little, and take other Ground, seeing That, which they are now upon, is likely to prove dangerous and distressing to Both? A thorough Conviction of the Truth of the two only essential Propositions in the Dispute will point out the Ground, which alone can ensure to them permanent Safety and Happiness. They are; that Great Britain ought not in Equity to exercise a Law-making Authority over the Colonies, while they are destitute of any Opportunity or constitutional Mode of communicating that Knowledge of their Circumstances, which is indispensably necessary to the right forming of Laws. And that the Colonies ought, as soon as possible, to be vested with a constitutional Power of communicating that Knowledge, as is the Case with the other Members of the British Government.

However disagreeable these Sentiments may be to the two Parties, I cannot think, that any other Remedy for their present Diseases will be lasting; and whenever it comes to be fully considered and digested, I am persuaded it will appear to others in the same Light. I mean to those, who have at heart, and are actuated by Motives, which lead to the Honor, Strength, and future Welfare of the Nation. I cannot find, that there is the least Disposition in the People of this Country to submit to the parliamentary Jurisdiction under the present System of Government and the Share they hold in it. And I believe, there will be no Change of Sentiments, untill there is a Change of Policy: And that seems very distant, as the Conduct on both Sides tends rather to divide and distract than to unite on those Principles of Government, which ever have and ever must be made use of to cement the different Parts of an Empire together. Under this dark Complexion, which the Face of Things now bears, what can be expected? Nothing but Confusion and Disorder. My ardent Wish is, that Wisdom and Moderation may take Place on both Sides; as from thence only we may hope for an Accommodation of the Difference upon a permanent Foundation.

A Congress of Delegates from the several Colonies will take Place in a few days at Philadelphia, to consider of these important Matters. I have consented to be one, greatly against my Inclination, at the earnest Solicitation of our Assembly: To do all the Good I can to both Countries is my sole Motive. I wish there was a Prospect of my doing a great Deal; but the Reverse is the Truth. What will be the Result of their Deliberations, it is hard, indeed impossible, to foretell. But it is more than probable, from present Appearances, that Commissioners will be appointed to come over and propose some Plan of Accommodation to the Parliament. But what that Plan will be, rests as yet in the greatest Uncertainty....

The Congress

5. List of Delegates and Officers (September–October 1774)

- *Connecticut*
  - Silas Deane
  - Eliphalet Dyer
  - Roger Sherman
- *Delaware*
  - Thomas McKean
  - George Read
  - Caesar Rodney
- *Maryland*
  - Samuel Chase
  - Robert Goldsborough
  - Thomas Johnson
  - William Paca
  - Matthew Tilghman
- *Massachusetts*
  - John Adams
  - Samuel Adams
  - Thomas Cushing
  - Robert Treat Paine
- *New Hampshire*
  - Nathaniel Folsom
  - John Sullivan
- *New Jersey*
  - Stephen Crane
  - John De Hart
  - James Kinsey
  - William Livingston
  - Richard Smith
- *New York*
  - John Alsop
  - Simon Boerum
  - James Duane
  - William Floyd
  - John Haring
  - John Jay
  - Philip Livingston
  - Isaac Low
  - Henry Wisner
- *North Carolina*
  - Richard Caswell
  - Joseph Hewes
  - William Hooper
- *Pennsylvania*
  - Edward Biddle
  - John Dickinson
  - Joseph Galloway
  - Charles Humphreys
  - Thomas Mifflin
  - John Morton
  - Samuel Rhoads
  - George Ross
- *Rhode Island*
  - Stephen Hopkins
  - Samuel Ward
- *South Carolina*
  - Christopher Gadsden
  - Thomas Lynch, Sr.
  - Henry Middleton
  - Edward Rutledge
  - John Rutledge
- *Virginia*
  - Richard Bland
  - Benjamin Harrison
  - Patrick Henry
  - Richard Henry Lee
  - Edward Pendleton
  - Peyton Randolph, President
  - George Washington

Secretary: Charles Thomson (Pennsylvania), a non-delegate

6. The Charge of Congress: Credentials of the Delegates (September 5, 14, 1774)

Each of the twelve delegations brought with it credentials from the group or body that had elected it to attest to its proper election. These credentials, which were entered in the Journals of Congress on opening day (September 5) or, in the case of the North Carolina delegates, who did not arrive until September 14, on the day of arrival, contained in every case except New York and New Jersey instructions to guide the delegates in their deliberations. These instructions ranged in character from the elaborate discussions by Delaware and South Carolina to the succinct charge from Connecticut that the delegates should consult "on proper measures for advancing the best good of the colonies." They are reprinted below from W. C. Ford et al., eds., Journals of the Continental Congress *(1904–1937), I, 15-24, 30.*

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September 5, 1774

FOR THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE:

At a meeting of the deputies appointed by the several towns in this province, held at Exeter, in the county of Rockingham, 21st July, 1774, for the election of delegates, on behalf of this province, to join the General Congress proposed. Present, 85 members.

The Hon^{ble} John Wentworth, Esq^{r}, in the chair.

Voted, That Major John Sullivan, and Col^{o} Nathaniel Folsom, Esq^{rs}, be appointed and impowered as delegates, on the part of this province, to attend and assist in the General Congress of delegates from the other Colonies, at such time and place as may be appointed, to devise, consult, and adopt measures, as may have the most likely tendency to extricate the Colonies from their present difficulties; to secure and perpetuate their rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, & mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her Colonies.

Attested:

J. WENTWORTH, *Chairman.*

FOR THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY:

In the House of Representatives, June 17th, 1774.

This house having duly considered, and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences which have long subsisted and are encreasing between Great Britain and the American Colonies, do resolve, that a meeting of Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America, and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights & liberties, civil & religious, and the restoration of union & harmony between

Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men. Therefore, Resolved, That the Hon^{ble} James Bowdoin,[1] esq^{r}., the Hon^{ble} Thomas Cushing, esq^{r}., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, & Robert Treat Paine, esq^{rs}., be, and they are hereby appointed a Committee on the part of this province, for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum, to meet such committees or delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective houses of Burgesses, or representatives, or by convention, or by the committees of correspondence appointed by the respective houses of Assembly, in the city of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the first day of September next; & that the Speaker of the House [2] be directed, in a letter to the speakers of the house of Burgesses or representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these Resolves.

Attested:

Samuel Adams, *Clerk.*

FOR RHODE ISLAND:

By the Hon^{ble} Joseph Wanton, esq^{r}., governor, captain-general, and commander in chief of and over the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, in New England in America.

To the Honourable Stephen Hopkins, esq^{r}., and the Honourable Samuel Ward, esq^{r}., greeting:

Whereas the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid have nominated and appointed you, the said Stephen Hopkins & Samuel Ward, to represent the people of this Colony in general congress of representatives from this and the other Colonies, at such time and place as should be agreed upon by the major part of the committees appointed, or to be appointed by the colonies in general:

I do therefore hereby authorize, impower, and commissionate you, the said Stephen Hopkins & Samuel Ward, to repair to the city of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the colonies; and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the commissioners or delegates from the other colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British parliament, for levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in America, without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed for blocking up the port of Boston, and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation, agreable to the instructions given you by the general Assembly.

Given under my hand and seal of the said colony, this tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774, and the 14th of the [L. S.] reign of his most sacred Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, & so forth.

Signed

J. Wanton.

By his honour's command,

Henry Ward, *Secy.*

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[1] Bowdoin declined his appointment.

[2] Thomas Cushing.

FOR CONNECTICUT:

In the House of Representatives of the Colony of Connecticut,
June 3d, 1774.

Whereas a congress of commissioners from the several British colonies in America, is proposed by some of our neighbouring colonies, and thought necessary; and whereas it may be found expedient that such Congress should be convened before the next Session of this Assembly:

Resolved, by this house, that the committee of correspondence be, and they are hereby empowered, on application to them made, or from time to time, as may be found necessary, to appoint a suitable number to attend such congress, or convention of commissioners, or committees of the several Colonies in British America, and the persons thus to be chosen shall be, and they are hereby directed, in behalf of this Colony, to attend such Congress; to consult and advise on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies, and such conferences, from time to time, to report to this house.

True Extract & Copy from the Journal of the house.

Attest

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Clerk.*

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*

NEW LONDON, *July 13th, 1774.*

At a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence for this Colony:

The honorable EBENEZER SILLIMAN, Esq^{r} *in the chair:*

The hon^{ble} Eliphalet Dyer, the hon^{ble} William Samuel Johnston, Erastus Wolcott, Silas Deane, and Richard Law, Esq^{rs} were nominated pursuant to the act of the honourable House of Representatives of the said Colony, at their session in May last, either three of which are hereby authorised and empowered, in behalf of this Colony, to attend the general Congress of the colonies proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the first day of September next, or at such other time & place as shall be agreed on by the Colonies, to consult and advise with the Commissioners or Committees of the several English Colonies in America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies.

(Signed:)

Ebenezer Silliman, William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Erastus Wolcott, Joseph Trumbull, Samuel H. Parsons, Nathan^{l} Wales, jun. Silas Deane.

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*

HARTFORD, *August* [ ], *1774.*

At a Meeting of the Committee of Correspondence for this colony:

Erastus Wolcott, Chairman.

The honourable William Samuel Johnston, Erastus Wolcott, and Richard Law, Esq^{rs} nominated by this committee at their meeting at New-London, on the 13th of July last, as persons proper to attend the general congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September next, as by said appointment, being unable, by reason of previous engagements and the state of their health, to attend said Congress, on behalf of this colony; the hon^{ble} Roger

Sherman, & Joseph Trumbull, Esq^{rs} were nominated in the place of the aforesaid gentlemen, as persons proper to attend said Congress, in behalf of this Colony, either of which are empowered, with the hon^{ble} Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane, Esq^{r} for that purpose.

(Signed)

William Williams, Benjamin Payne, Joseph Trumbull, Nath^{l} Wales, Jun, Sam^{l} H. Parsons, Samuel Bishop.

FOR NEW YORK:

By duly certifyed polls, taken by proper persons, in seven wards, it appears that James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, & John Alsop, Esq^{rs} were elected as Delegates for the City & County of New York, to attend the Congress at Philadelphia, the first day of September next; and at a meeting of the Committees of several districts in the County of West-Chester, the same gentlemen were appointed to represent that County. Also by a Letter from Jacob Lansing, Jun^{r}, chairman, in behalf of the Committee for Albany, it appears, that that City & County had adopted the same for their delegates. By another letter, it appears, that the Committees from the several-districts in the County of Duchess, had likewise adopted the same as delegates to represent that County in Congress, & that Committees of other towns approve of them as their delegates.

By a writing duly attested, it appears, the County of Suffolk, in the Colony of New York, have appointed Col^{o} William Floyd, to represent them at the Congress.

FOR NEW JERSEY:

To James Kinsey, William Livingston, John D'hart, Stephen Crane, & Richard Smith, Esq^{rs} each and every of you:

The Committees, appointed by the several Counties of the Colony of New Jersey, to nominate Deputies, to represent the same in the general congress of deputies from the other Colonies in America, convened at the City of New Brunswick, have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint you, and each of you, deputies, to represent the Colony of New Jersey in the said general congress.

In testimony whereof, the Chairmen of the several Committees here met, have hereunto set their hands, this twenty third day of July, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third, and in the year of our Lord 1774.

(Signed)

William P. Smith [Essex County], Jacob Ford [Morris County], John Moores [Middlesex County], Robert Johnson, Robert Field, Robert Friend Price, Peter Zabriskie [Bergen County], Samuel Tucker [Hunterdon County], Edward Taylor [Monmouth County], Hendrick Fisher, Archibald Stewart, Thomas Anderson, Abra Brown, Mark Thompson.

FOR PENNSYLVANIA:

EXTRACT FROM VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY

Friday July 22^{d}, 1774 a.m.

The Committee of the whole house, taking into their most serious consideration, the unfortunate differences which have long subsisted between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, and been greatly increased by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the British Parliament:

Resolved, N. C. D. That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies, be held as soon as conveniently may be, to consult together upon the present unhappy State of the Colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that Union & harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.

EODEM DIE, P.M.

The house resumed the consideration of the resolve from the Committee of the whole house, and, after some debate thereon, adopting and confirming the same,

Resolved, N. C. D. That the hon^{ble} Joseph Galloway, speaker; Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Cha^{s} Humphreys, John Morton, George Ross, & Edward Biddle, Esqrs, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee, on the part of this Province, for the purposes aforesaid, and that they, or any four of them, do meet such Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective houses of representatives, or by convention, or by the provincial or Colony Committees, at such time and place, as shall be generally agreed on by such Committees.

FOR THE THREE COUNTIES NEWCASTLE, KENT, & SUSSEX, ON DELAWARE:

August 1, 1774, A. M.

The Representatives of the freemen of the Government of the Counties of Newcastle, Kent. & Sussex, on Delaware, met at Newcastle, in pursuance of circular letters from the Speaker of the house, who was requested to write and forward the same to the several Members of Assembly, by the Committees of correspondence for the several Counties aforesaid, chosen and appointed for that among other purposes, by the freeholders and freemen of the said Counties respectively: And having chosen a Chairman, and read the resolves of the three respective Counties, and sundry letters from the Committees of correspondence along the Continent, they unanimously entered into the following resolution, viz:

We, the representatives aforesaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us, as aforesaid, taking into our most serious consideration the several acts of the British parliament, for restraining manufactures in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America,—for taking away the property of the Colonists without their participation or consent,—for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of excise into the Customs here,—for the making all revenue excises liable without Jury, and under the decision of a single dependant Judge,—for the trial, in England, of persons accused of capital crimes, committed in the Colonies,—for the shutting up the port of Boston,—for new-modelling the government of the Massachusetts-Bay, and the operation of the same on the property, liberty, and lives of the Colonists; and also considering, that the most eligible mode of determining upon the premises, and of endeavouring to procure relief and redress of our grievances, would have been by us assembled in a Legislative capacity, but that as the house had adjourned to the thirtieth day of September next, and it is not to be expected, that his Honour the Governor would call us, by writs of summons, on this occasion, having refused to do the like in his other Province of Pennsylvania; the next most proper method, of answering the expectations and desires of our Constituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cause of America, is to appoint commissioners or deputies in behalf of the people of this government, to meet and act with those appointed by the other provinces, in general Congress; and we do, therefore, unanimously nominate and appoint Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read, Esq^rs^ or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this government, in a general continental congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there, to consult and advise with the deputies from the other colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures, as may be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances.

Signed by order of the convention,

CÆSAR RODNEY, *Chairman.*

FOR MARYLAND:

At a Meeting of the Committees appointed by the several Counties of the province of Maryland, at the City of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774, and continued by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the same month:

Matthew Tilghman, Esqr in the Chair:

John Ducket, Clerk:

Resolved, That Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Junr, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Esqrs or any two or more of them, be deputies for this province, to attend a General Congress of deputies from the Colonies, at such time and place as may be agreed on, to effect one general plan of conduct, operating on the commercial connexion of the colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boston, and preservation of American liberty.

FOR VIRGINIA:

Monday the 1st of August, in the year of our Lord, 1774.

At a general meeting of Delegates from the different Counties in this Colony, convened in the city of Williamsburgh, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation of the Continent of North-America:

The Honourable Peyton Randolph in the Chair:

It was unanimously resolved; that it is the opinion of this meeting, that it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British Empire, that a general congress of deputies from all the Colonies, assemble as quickly as the nature of their situations will admit, to consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connexion of the colonies with the Mother Country, as to procure redress for the much injured province of Massachusetts-Bay, to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily as possible to procure the return of that harmony and Union, so beneficial to the whole Empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.

Friday, August 5th, 1774.

The Meeting proceeded to the choice of Delegates, to represent this Colony in general Congress, when the hon^{ble} Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, & Edmund Pendleton, Esq^{rs} were appointed for that purpose.

FOR SOUTH CAROLINA:

In the commons, house of Assembly, Tuesday, the 2d day of August, 1774.

Colonel Powell acquainted the house, that during the recess of this house, viz: on the 6th, 7th & 8th days of July last at a general meeting of the inhabitants of this colony, they having under consideration the acts of parliament lately passed with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts-Bay as well as other American grievances, had nominated and appointed the hon^{ble} Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, & Edward Rutledge, Esq^{rs} deputies on the part and behalf of this Colony, to meet the deputies of the other Colonies of North America, in general Congress, the first Monday in September next at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to consider the acts lately passed, and bills depending in parliament with regard to the port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, which acts & bills in the precedent and consequences affect the whole Continent of America—also the grievances under which America labours, by reason of the several acts of parliament that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unnecessary restraints and burdens on Trade; and of the statutes, parliamentary acts, and royal instructions, which make an invidious distinction between his majesty's subjects in Great-Britain and America, with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures, as in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts, and a redress of those grievances: and thereupon moved that this house do resolve to recognize, ratify, and confirm said appointment of the deputies for the purposes aforesaid.

Resolved, N. C. D. That this house do recognize, ratify, and confirm the appointment of the said deputies for the purposes mentioned in the said motion.

Attested, Thomas Farr, Junr *Clerk.*

September 14, 1774

FOR NORTH CAROLINA:

North-Carolina, at a general meeting of deputies of the Inhabitants of this province, New Bern, the 25th day of August, Anno Domini 1774.

Resolved, That we approve the proposal of a general Congress, to be held in the City of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures, as they may deem prudent, to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breaches made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the sanction of public Authority.

Resolved, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, and every of them, be deputies to attend such Congress, and they are hereby invested with such powers, as may make any acts done by them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honour upon every inhabitant hereof, who is not an alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of America.

Signed,
Attested,

John Harvey, *Moderator.*
Andrew Knox, *Clerk.*

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7. Settling Procedural Questions and Establishing the Legal Bases of Protest: John Adams, Notes of Debates (September 5, 6, 8, 1774)

When the delegates convened on September 5, they quickly settled on a place to meet—Carpenters' Hall—and elected officers, Peyton Randolph as president and Charles Thomson as secretary. They then proceeded to consider the knotty question of voting, "whether it should be by Colonies, or by poll, or by interests." Patrick Henry (Virginia) argued that it should be by numbers. His position was that "Government is dissolved," and the "distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." Besides, he contended, it "would be great injustice if a little Colony should have the same weight in the councils of America as a great one." Thomas Lynch, Sr. (South Carolina), argued the case for property as an independent consideration and proposed that voting ought to be determined by "a compound of numbers and property." But the impossibility of ascertaining "the numbers of our people or the value of our trade" meant that after two *days of debate, the delegates agreed with Christopher Gadsden, who could not "see any way of voting, but by Colonies." This matter settled, Congress turned next on September 8 to the intriguing question of the legal bases of colonial rights, that is, as John Adams put it, "what authority we should concede to Parliament; whether we should deny the authority of Parliament in all cases; whether we should allow any authority to it in our internal affairs; or whether we should allow it to regulate the trade of the empire with or without any restrictions." No official record of debate was kept by the Congress. But John Adams' "Notes of Debates" provide some record of who said what on these important questions. They are reprinted here from Edmund C. Burnett, ed.,* Letters of Members of the Continental Congress *(1921), I, 6–8, 14–15, 20–22.*

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September 5, 1774.

5. Monday. At ten the delegates all met at the City Tavern, and walked to the Carpenters' Hall, where they took a view of the room, and of the chamber where is an excellent library; there is also a long entry where gentlemen may walk, and a convenient chamber opposite to the library. The general cry was, that this was a good room, and the question was put, whether we were satisfied with this room? and it passed in the affirmative. A very few were for the negative, and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York. Then Mr. Lynch arose, and said there was a gentleman present who had presided with great dignity over a very respectable society, greatly to the advantage of America, and he therefore proposed that the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, one of the delegates from Virginia, and the late Speaker of their House of Burgesses, should be appointed Chairman, and he doubted not it would be unanimous.

The question was put, and he was unanimously chosen.

Mr. Randolph then took the chair, and the commissions of the delegates were all produced and read.

Then Mr. Lynch proposed that Mr. Charles Thomson, a gentleman of family, fortune, and character in this city, should be appointed Secretary, which was accordingly done without opposition, though Mr. Duane and Mr. Jay discovered at first an inclination to seek further.

Mr. Duane then moved that a committee should be appointed to prepare regulations for this Congress. Several gentlemen objected.

I then arose and asked leave of the President to request of the gentleman from New York an explanation, and that he would point out some particular regulations which he had in his mind. He mentioned particularly the method of voting, whether it should be by Colonies, or by the poll, or by interests.

Mr. Henry then arose, and said this was the first General Congress which had ever happened; that no former Congress could be a precedent; that we should have occasion for more general congresses, and therefore that a precedent ought to be established now; that it would be great injustice if a little Colony should have the same weight in the councils of America as a great one, and therefore he was for a committee.

Major Sullivan observed that a little Colony had its all at stake as well as a great one.

This is a question of great importance. If we vote by Colonies, this method, will be liable to great inequality and injustice; for five small Colonies, with one hundred thousand people in each, may outvote four large ones, each of which has five hundred thousand inhabitants. If we vote by the poll, some Colonies have more than their proportion of members, and others have less. If we vote by interests, it will be attended with insuperable difficulties to ascertain the true importance of each Colony. Is the weight of a Colony to be ascertained by the number of inhabitants merely, or by the amount of their trade, the quantity of their exports and imports, or by any compound ratio of both? This will lead us into such a field of controversy as will greatly perplex us. Besides, I question whether it is possible to ascertain, at this time, the numbers of our people or the value of our trade. It will not do in such a case to take each other's word; it ought to be ascertained by authentic evidence from records.

September 6, 1774.

Mr. Henry. Government is dissolved. Fleets and armies and the present state of things show that government is dissolved. Where are your landmarks, your boundaries of Colonies? We are in a state of nature, sir. I did propose that a scale should be laid down; that part of North America which was once Massachusetts Bay, and that part which was once Virginia, ought to be considered as having a weight. Will not people complain? Ten thousand Virginians have not outweighed one thousand others.

I will submit, however; I am determined to submit, if I am overruled.

A worthy gentleman (ego) near me seemed to admit the necessity of obtaining a more adequate representation.

I hope future ages will quote our proceedings with applause. It is one of the great duties of the democratical part of the constitution to keep itself pure. It is known in my Province that some other Colonies are not so numerous or rich as they are. I am for giving all the satisfaction in my power.

The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American.

Slaves are to be thrown out of the question, and if the freemen can be represented according to their numbers, I am satisfied.

Mr. Lynch. I differ in one point from the gentleman from Virginia, that is, in thinking that numbers only ought to determine the weight of Colonies. I think that property ought to be considered, and that it ought to be a compound of numbers and property that should determine the weight of the Colonies.

I think it cannot be now settled.

Mr. Rutledge. We have no legal authority; and obedience to our determinations will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent utility and necessity of the measures we adopt. We have no coercive or legislative authority. Our constituents are bound only in honor to observe our determinations.

Governor Ward. There are a great number of counties, in Virginia, very unequal in point of wealth and numbers, yet each has a right to send two members.

Mr. Lee. But one reason, which prevails with me, and that is, that we are not at this time provided with proper materials. I am afraid we are not.

Mr. Gadsden. I can't see any way of voting, but by Colonies.

Colonel Bland. I agree with the gentleman (ego) who spoke near me, that we are not at present provided with materials to ascertain the importance of each Colony. The question is, whether the rights and liberties of America shall be contended for, or given up to arbitrary power.

Mr. Pendleton. If the committee should find themselves unable to ascertain the weight of the Colonies, by their numbers and property, they will report this, and this will lay the foundation for the Congress to take some other steps to procure evidence of numbers and property at some future time.

Mr. Henry. I agree that authentic accounts cannot be had, if by authenticity is meant attestations of officers of the Crown.

I go upon the supposition that government is at an end. All distinctions are thrown down. All America is thrown into one mass. We must aim at the minutiae of rectitude.

Mr. Jay. Could I suppose that we came to frame an American constitution, instead of endeavoring to correct the faults in an old one—I can't yet think that all government is at an end. The measure of arbitrary power is not full, and I think it must run over, before we undertake to frame a new constitution.

To the virtue, spirit, and abilities of Virginia, we owe much. I should always, therefore, from inclination as well as justice, be for giving Virginia its full weight.

I am not clear that we ought not to be bound by a majority, though ever so small, but I only mentioned it as a matter of danger, worthy of consideration.

September 8, 1774.

September 8. In the Committee for stating rights, grievances, and means of redress.

Colonel Lee. The rights are built on a fourfold foundation; on nature, on the British constitution, on charters, and on immemorial usage. The Navigation Act, a capital violation.

Mr. Jay. It is necessary to recur to the law of nature, and the British constitution, to ascertain our rights. The constitution of Great Britain will not apply to some of the charter rights.

A mother country surcharged with inhabitants, they have a right to emigrate. It may be said, if we leave our country, we cannot leave our allegiance. But there is no allegiance without protection, and emigrants have a right to erect what government they please.

Mr. J. Rutledge. Emigrants would not have a right to set up what constitution they please. A subject could not alienate his allegiance.

Lee. Can't see why we should not lay our rights upon the broadest bottom, the ground of nature. Our ancestors found here no government.

Mr. Pendleton. Consider how far we have a right to interfere with regard to the Canada constitution. If the majority of the people there should be pleased with the new constitution, would not the people of America and of England have a right to oppose it, and prevent such a constitution being established in our neighborhood?

Lee. It is contended that the Crown had no right to grant such charters as it has to the Colonies, and therefore, we shall rest our rights on a feeble foundation, if we rest them only on charters; nor will it weaken our objections to the Canada bill.

Mr. Rutledge. Our claims, I think, are well founded on the British constitution, and not on the law of nature.

Colonel Dyer. Part of the country within the Canada bill is a conquered country, and part not. It is said to be a rule that the King can give a conquered country what law he pleases.

Mr. Jay. I can't think the British constitution inseparably attached to the person of every subject. Whence did the constitution derive its authority? from compact; might not that authority be given up by compact?

Mr. William Livingston. A corporation cannot make a corporation; charter governments have done it. King can't appoint a person to make a justice of peace; all governors do it. Therefore it will not do for America to rest wholly on the laws of England.

Mr. Sherman. The ministry contend that the Colonies are only like corporations in England, and therefore subordinate to the legislature of the kingdom. The Colonies not bound to the King or Crown by the act of settlement, but by their consent to it. There is no other legislative over the Colonies but their respective assemblies.

The Colonies adopt the common law, not as the common law, but as the highest reason.

Mr. Duane. Upon the whole, for grounding our rights on the laws and constitution of the country from whence we sprung, and charters, without recurring to the law of nature; because this will be a feeble support. Charters are compacts between the Crown and the people, and I think on this foundation the charter governments stand firm.

England is governed by a limited monarchy and free constitution. Privileges of Englishmen were inherent, their birthright and inheritance, and cannot be deprived of them without their consent.

Objection; that all the rights of Englishmen will make us independent. I hope a line may be drawn to obviate this objection.

James was against Parliament interfering with the Colonies. In the reign of Charles II, the sentiments of the Crown seem to have been changed. The Navigation Act was made; Massachusetts denied the authority, but made a law to enforce it in the Colony.

Lee. Life, and liberty which is necessary for the security of life, cannot be given up when we enter into society.

Mr. Rutledge. The first emigrants could not be considered as in a state of nature; they had no right to elect a new king.

Mr. Jay. I have always withheld my assent from the position that every subject discovering land (does it) for the state to which he belongs.

Mr. Galloway. I never could find the rights of Americans in the distinction between taxation and legislation, nor in the distinction between laws for revenue and for the regulation of trade. I have looked for our rights in the law of nature, but could not find them in a state of nature, but always in a state of political society.

I have looked for them in the constitution of the English government, and there found them. We may draw them from this source securely.

Power results from the real property of the society. The states of Greece, Macedon, Rome were founded on this plan. None but landholders could vote in the comitia or stand for offices.

English constitution founded on the same principle. Among the Saxons, the landholders were obliged to attend, and shared among them the power. In the Norman period, the same. When the landholders could not all attend, the representatives of the freeholders came in. Before the reign of Henry IV an attempt was made to give the tenants *in capite* a right to vote. Magna Charta—archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, and tenants *in capite* held all the lands in England.

It is of the essence of the English constitution that no laws shall be binding, but such as are made by the consent of the proprietors in England.

How then, did it stand with our ancestors when they came over here? They could not be bound by any laws made by the British Parliament, excepting those made before. I never could see any reason to allow that we are bound to any law made since, nor could I ever make any distinction between the sorts of law.

I have ever thought we might reduce our rights to one—an exemption from all laws made by British Parliament since the emigration of our ancestors. It follows, therefore, that all the acts of Parliament made since, are violations of our rights.

These claims are all defensible upon the principles even of our enemies—Lord North himself, when he shall inform himself of the true principles of the constitution, etc.

I am well aware that my arguments tend to an independency of the Colonies, and militate against the maxims that there must be some absolute power to draw together all the wills and strength of the empire.

8. A Plea for Restraint

Increasingly coming to see himself as the one man who could work out a suitable compromise between Britain and the colonies, Joseph Galloway presented Congress with his famous "Plan of Union" on September 28, 1774. Proposing to guarantee to each colony complete control over its internal affairs, this plan called for the creation of an "inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature" in the colonies to be composed of delegates from all of the continental colonies and presided over by a president general appointed by the King. The body was to have jurisdiction over general Ameri-

can affairs. But acceptance by both the British and the American Parliament would be required before any measure respecting the colonies could go into effect. This plan was only narrowly rejected by a vote of six colonies to five, but it was expunged from the journal at the insistence of some of the more radical delegates on October 22. Both the plan and John Adams' notes of the debates are printed here, the former from Journals of the Continental Congress, *I, 49–51, and the latter from* Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, *I, 51–54.*

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A. The Galloway Plan of Union (September 28, 1774)

That a British and American legislature, for regulating the administration of the general affairs of America, be proposed and established in America, including all the said colonies; within, and under which government, each colony shall retain its present constitution, and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police, in all cases what[*so*]ever.

That the said government be administered by a President General, to be appointed by the King, and a grand Council, to be chosen by the Representatives of the people of the several colonies, in their respective assemblies, once in every three years.

That the several assemblies shall choose members for the grand council in the following proportions, viz.

New Hampshire.
Massachusetts-Bay.
Rhode Island.
Connecticut.
New-York.
New-Jersey.
Pennsylvania.
Delaware Counties.
Maryland.
Virginia.
North Carolina.
South-Carolina.
Georgia.

Who shall meet at the city of   for the first time, being called by the President-General, as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

That there shall be a new election of members for the Grand Council every three years; and on the death, removal or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of Assembly of the Colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, if they shall think it necessary, and oftener, if occasions shall require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General, on any emergency.

That the grand Council shall have power to choose their Speaker, and shall hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties and privileges, as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great-Britain.

That the President-General shall hold his office during the pleasure of the King, and his assent shall be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and it shall be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

That the President-General, by and with the advice and consent of the Grand-Council, hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities, necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies, in which Great-Britain and the colonies, or any of them, the colonies in general, or more than one colony, are in any manner concerned, as well civil and criminal as commercial.

That the said President-General and the Grand Council, be an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it, for the aforesaid general purposes; and that any of the said general regulations may originate and be formed and digested, either in the Parliament of Great Britain, or in the said Grand Council, and being prepared transmitted to the other for their approbation or dissent; and that the assent of both shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts or statutes.

That in time of war, all bills for granting aid to the crown, prepared by the General Council, and approved by the President General, shall be valid and passed into a law, without the assent of the British Parliament.

B. JOHN ADAMS, NOTES OF DEBATES (September 28, 1774)

. . . . *Mr. Galloway.* The proposal I intended to make having been opposed, I have waited to hear a more effectual one. A general non-importation from Great Britain and Ireland has been adopted, but I think this will be too gradual in its operation for the relief of Boston. A general non-exportation I have ever looked on as an undigested proposition. It is impossible America can exist under a total non-exportation. We, in this Province, should have tens of thousands of people thrown upon the cold hand of charity. Our ships would lie by the walls, our seamen would be thrown out of bread, our shiprights, etc. out of employ, and it would affect the landed interest. It would weaken us in another struggle, which I fear is too near.

To explain my plan, I must state a number of facts relative to Great Britain and relative to America. I hope no facts which I shall state will be disagreeable.

In the last war, America was in the greatest danger of destruction. This was held up by the Massachusetts, and by the Congress in 1754. They said we are disunited among ourselves. There is no indifferent arbiter between us.

Requisitions came over. A number of the Colonies gave most extensively and liberally; others gave nothing or late. Pennsylvania gave late, not for want of zeal or loyalty, but owing to their disputes with proprietors, their disunited state. These delinquencies were handed up to the parent State, and these gave occasion to the Stamp Act. America, with the greatest reason and justice, complained of the Stamp Act.

Had they proposed some plan of policy, some negotiation been set afoot, it would have terminated in the most happy harmony between the two countries. They repealed the Stamp Act, but they passed the Declaratory Act.

Without some supreme legislature, some common arbiter, you are not, say they, part of the State.

I am as much a friend of liberty as exists; and no man shall go further in point of fortune, or in point of blood, than the man who now addresses you.

Burlamaqui, Grotius, Puffendorf, Hooker. There must be a union of wills and strength; distinction between a State and a multitude; a State is animated by one soul.

As we are not within the circle of the supreme jurisdiction of the Parliament, we are independent States. The law of Great Britain does not bind us in any case whatever.

We want the aid and assistance and protection of the arm of our mother country. Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties. Can we lay claim to the money and protection of Great Britain upon any principles of honor or conscience? Can we wish to become aliens to the mother state?

We must come upon terms with Great Britain.

Some gentlemen are not for negotiation. I wish I could hear some reason against it.

The minister must be at twenty or thirty millions [expense] to enforce his measures.

I propose this proposition. The plan—two classes of laws. I. Laws of internal policy. 2. Laws in which more than one Colony are concerned—raising money for war. No one act can be done without the assent of Great Britain. No one without the assent of America. A British American Legislature.

Mr. Duane. As I mean to second this motion, I think myself bound to lay before the Congress my reasons. New York thought it necessary to have a Congress for the relief of Boston and Massachusetts, and to do more, to lay a plan for a lasting accommodation with Great Britain.

Whatever may have been the motive for departing from the first plan of the Congress, I am unhappy that we have departed from it. The Post-office Act was before the year 1763. Can we expect lasting tranquillity? I have given my full assent to a non-importation and non-exportation agreement.

The right of regulating trade, from the local circumstances of the Colonies, and their disconnection with each other, cannot be exercised by the Colonies. Massachusetts disputed the Navigation Act, because not represented, but made a law of their own, to inforce that Act. Virginia did the same nearly.

I think justice requires that we should expressly cede to Parliament the right of regulating trade. In the Congress of 1754, which consisted of the greatest and best men in the Colonies, this was considered as indispensable.

A civil war with America would involve a national bankruptcy.

Colonel Lee. How did we go on for one hundred and sixty years before the year 1763? We flourished and grew. This plan would make such changes in the Legislature of the Colonies, that I could not agree to it without consulting my constituents.

Mr. Jay. I am led to adopt this plan. It is objected that this plan will alter our constitutions, and therefore cannot be adopted without consulting constituents. Does this plan give up any one liberty, or interfere with any one right?

Mr. Henry. The original constitution of the Colonies was founded on the broadest and most generous base. The regulation of our trade was compensation enough for all the protection we ever experienced from her.

We shall liberate our constituents from a corrupt House of Commons, but throw them into the arms of an American Legislature, that may be bribed by that nation which avows, in the face of the world, that bribery is a part of her system of government.

Before we are obliged to pay taxes as they do, let us be as free as they; let us have our trade open with all the world.

We are not to consent by the representatives of representatives.

I am inclined to think the present measures lead to war.

Mr. Edward Rutledge. I came with an idea of getting a bill of rights and a plan of permanent relief. I think the plan may be freed from almost every objection. I think it almost a perfect plan.

Mr. Galloway. In every government, patriarchal, monarchial, aristocratical, or democratical, there must be a supreme legislature.

I know of no American constitution; a Virginia constitution, a Pennsylvania constitution we have; we are totally independent of each other.

Every gentleman here thinks the Parliament ought to have the power over trade, because Britain protects it and us. Why then will we not declare it?

Because Parliament and Ministry is wicked and corrupt, and will take advantage of such declaration to tax us, and will also reason from this acknowledgment to further power over us.

Answer. We shall not be bound further than we acknowledge it.

Is it not necessary that the trade of the empire should be regulated by some power or other? Can the empire hold together without it? No. Who shall regulate it? Shall the Legislature of Nova Scotia or Georgia regulate it? Massachusetts, or Virginia? Pennsylvania or New York? It can't be pretended. Our legislative powers extend no further than the limits of our governments. Where then shall it be placed? There is a necessity that an American Legislature should be set up, or else that we should give the power to Parliament or King.

Protection. Acquiescence. Massachusetts. Virginia.

Advantages derived from our commerce.

9. Demand for the Redress of Grievances: Declaration and Resolves (October 14, 1774)

On October 14, Congress adopted the first of its six major state papers, its Declaration and Resolves, a resume of colonial grievances and a comprehensive statement of the rights they claimed as Britons residing in America. It was more moderate in tone than many of the more radical delegates would have preferred. Yet it explicitly denied that Parliament had any authority over the colonies, though it did offer to abide by commercial regulations passed by Parliament for the good of the British Empire as a whole. The Declaration and Resolves also indicated the intention of Congress to *enter into economic sanctions against Britain in an attempt to force the redress of American grievances.*

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Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power of right to bind the people of America, by statute in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependant on the Crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace:

And it has lately been resolved in Parliament, that by force of a statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, colonists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treasons, and misprisons, or concealments of treasons committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

And whereas, in the last session of parliament, three statutes were made; one, intituled "An act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading, or shipping of goods, wares & merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts-bay, in North-America;" another, intituled "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of the Massachusetts-bay in New England;" and another, intituled "An act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the province of the Massachusetts-bay, in New-England." And another statute was then made, "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, &c." All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, & reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt, by his majesty's ministers of state:

The good people of the several Colonies of New-hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted:

Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration, the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare,

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following Rights:

Resolved, N. C. D. 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, & property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved, N. C. D. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved; 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

Resolved, N. C. D. 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, 6. That they are entituled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, N. C. D. 7. That these, his majesty's colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted & confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

Resolved, N. C. D. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

Resolved, N. C. D. 9. That the keeping a Standing army in these colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, N. C. D. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire, that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies, viz:

The several acts of 4 Geo. 3. ch. 15, & ch. 34.—5 Geo. 3. ch. 25.—6 Geo. 3. ch. 52.—7 Geo. 3. ch. 41, & ch. 46.—8 Geo. 3. ch. 22, which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges' certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also the 12 Geo. 3. ch. 24, entituled "An act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by a jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any offence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter & government of the Massachusetts-bay, and that which is entituled "An act for the better administration of Justice," &c.

Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholick Religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of Religion, law, and government of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

To these grievous acts and measures, Americans cannot submit, but in hopes that their fellow subjects in Great-Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:

1st. to enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

2. To prepeare and address to the people of Great-Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, &

3. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty; agreeable to Resolutions already entered into.

10. Economic Sanctions

Congress adopted its second major state paper, the Continental Association, on October 18. This document committed the colonies represented to a nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption agreement until Britain changed its policy towards the colonies. Nonimportation of all British goods was to begin on December 1, 1774, and nonconsumption on March 1, 1775, but nonexportation, at the insistence of the southern staple-exporting colonies, was postponed until September 10, 1775. The Association further pledged the colonists to "encourage frugality, economy, and industry" and "discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation" and threatened any colony that did not adhere to the agreement with economic boycott. To enforce these regulations, the Association provided for the election of committees of safety in every community to "observe the conduct of all persons touching the association," make public all violations, and "break off dealings" with the violators. Some of the debates on this question, as recorded by John Adams, are reprinted below from Letters of the Continental Congress, *I, 48–50, and the Association is reprinted here from* Journals of the Continental Congress, *I, 75–80.*

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A. John Adams, Notes on Debates (September 26–27, 1774)

Mr. Lee made a motion for a non-importation.

Mr. Mifflin. The first of November ought to be fixed; for no honest orders were sent after the first of June. Orders are generally sent in April and May. But the intention was known of a non-importation.

Colonel Bland. I think the time ought to be fixed, when goods are shipped in Great Britain, because a ship may have a long voyage.

Mr. Gadsden. For the first of November; we may be deceived and defrauded if we fix the time, when goods are shipped.

Colonel Lee. Invoices have been antedated.

Mr. John Rutledge. I think all the ways and means should be proposed.

Mr. Mifflin proposes stoppage of flax-seed and lumber to the West Indies, and non-importation of dutied articles; to commence 1 August, 1775.

Mr. Chase. Force, I apprehend, is out of the question in our present inquiry. In 1770, the annual tax was thirteen millions; last year it was only ten millions. Land tax, malt tax, perpetual funds, amount to only ten millions. They are compelled to raise ten millions in time of peace.

The emigrations from Great Britain prove that they are taxed as far as they can bear. A total non-importation and non-exportation to Great Britain and the West Indies must produce a national bankruptcy, in a very short space of time. The foreign trade of Great Britain is but four millions and a half; as great a man as ever Britain produced calculated the trade with the Colonies at two millions. I believe the importation to the Colonies now represented, may be three millions. A non-exportation amounts to three millions more, and the debt due to four millions. Two thirds in the Colonies are clothed in British manufactures. Non-exportation of vastly more importance than a non-importation; it affects the merchants as well as manufacturers, the trade as well as the revenue. Sixty thousand hogsheads of tobacco. Two hundred and twenty-five British ships employed.

I am for a non-exportation of lumber to the West Indies immediately.

The importance of the trade of the West Indies to Great Britain almost exceeds calculation. The sugar carries the greatest revenue; the rum a great deal. If you don't stop the lumber immediately, you can't stop it at all. If it takes place immediately, they can't send home their next year's crop.

A non-exportation at a future day cannot avail us. What is the situation of Boston and the Massachusetts?

A non-exportation at the Virginia day will not operate before the fall of 1776. I would not affect the trade of the Colonies to the Mediterranean or other parts of the world.

I am for a more distant day than the first of November.

Mr. Lynch. We want not only redress, but speedy redress. The mass can't live without government, I think, one year. Nothing less than what has been proposed by the gentleman last speaking, will put the Colonies in the state I wish to see them in. I believe the Parliament would grant us immediate relief. Bankruptcy would be the consequence if they did not.

Mr. Gadsden. By saving our own liberties, we shall save those of the West Indies. I am for being ready, but I am not for the sword. The only way to prevent the sword from being used, is to have it ready.

Though the Virginians are tied up, I would be for doing it without them. Boston and New England can't hold out. The country will be deluged in blood, if we don't act with spirit. Don't let America look at this mountain and let it bring forth a mouse.

Mr. Chase. We can't come into a non-exportation, immediately, without Virginia.

Mr. Cushing for a non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption; and immediately.

Colonel Bland. It has been our glory—

Mr. Hooper. We make some tobacco. I was instructed to protest against petitioning alone. Tar, pitch, and turpentine, we can ship nowhere but to Great Britain. The whole of the subsistence of the people in the southern ports is from naval stores. Great Britain cannot do without naval stores from North Carolina.

Mr. Edward Rutledge. A gentleman from the other end of the room talked of generosity. True equality is the only public generosity. If Virginia raises wheat, instead of tobacco, they will not suffer. Our rice is an enumerated commodity. We shall, therefore, lose all our trade. I am both for non-importation and non-exportation, to take place immediately.

Mr. Henry. We don't mean to hurt even our rascals, if we have any. I move that December may be inserted instead of November.

Mr. Jay. Negotiation, suspension of commerce, and war, are the only three things. War is, by general consent, to be waved at present. I am for negotiation and suspension of commerce.

Colonel Lee. All considerations of interest, and of equality of sacrifice, should be laid aside.

Produce of the other Colonies is carried to market in the same year when it is raised, even rice. Tobacco is not until the next year.

Mr. Sullivan. We export masts, boards, plank, fish, oil, and some potash. Ships we load with lumber for the West Indies, and thence carry sugar to England, and pay our debts that way. Every kind of lumber we export to the West Indies. Our lumber is made in the winter. Our ships sail in January or February for the West Indies.

Colonel Dyer. They have now drawn the sword, in order to execute their plan of subduing America; and I imagine they will not sheathe it, but that next summer will decide the fate of America. To withdraw all commerce with Great Britain at once, would come upon them like a thunderclap. By what I heard yesterday, Great Britain is much more in our power than I expected;—the masts from the northward, the naval stores from North Carolina.

We are struggling for the liberties of the West Indies and of the people of Great Britain, as well as our own, and perhaps of Europe.

Stopping the flax-seed to Ireland would greatly distress them.

Mr. Cushing. Whoever considers the present state of Great Britain and America, must see the necessity of spirited measures. Great Britain has drawn the sword against us, and nothing prevents her sheating it in our bowels, but want of sufficient force.

I think it absolutely necessary to agree to a non-importation and non-exportation immediately.

B. THE CONTINENTAL ASSOCIATION (October 20, 1774)

We, his majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina deputed to represent them in a continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for inslaving these colonies, and, with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America: and in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts-Bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

To obtain redress of the grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his majesty's subjects, in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure: and, therefore, we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour and love of our country, as follows:

1. That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import, into British America, from Great-Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandise, as shall have been exported from Great-Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East-India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

2. We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

3. As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that, from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East-India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East-India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods,

wares, or merchandise, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

4. The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British parliament herein after mentioned are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandise or commodity whatsoever to Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West-Indies, except rice to Europe.

5. Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible to their factors, agents and correspondents, in Great-Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant, residing in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandise, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

6. That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismission from their service.

7. We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end, we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West-Indies or elsewhere; and those of us, who are or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

8. We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals.

9. Such as are venders of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past.—And if any vender of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever violate or depart from this agreement, no person

ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

10. In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandise, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last-mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandises shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

11. That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the gazette; to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British-America may be publicly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

12. That the committee of correspondence, in the respective colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

13. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

14. And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North-America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constitutents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several acts of parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass and painters' colours imported into America, and extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed.—And until that part of the act of the 12 G. 3. ch. 24, entitled "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or country within the realm, is repealed—and until the four acts, passed the last session of parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston—that for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts-Bay—and that which is entitled "An act for the better administration of justice, &c."—and that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed. And we recommend it to the provincial conventions, and to the committees in the respective colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

IN CONGRESS, PHILADELPHIA, *October 20, 1774.*

Signed, PEYTON RANDOLPH, *President.*

New Hampshire	Jn^{o} Sullivan Nath^{el} Folsom
Massachusetts Bay	Thomas Cushing Sam^{l} Adams John Adams Rob^{t} Treat Paine
Rhode Island	Step. Hopkins Sam: Ward
Connecticut	Elipht Dyer Roger Sherman Silas Deane
New York	Isaac Low John Alsop John Jay Ja^{s} Duane Phil. Livingston W^{m} Floyd Henry Wisner S: Boerum
New Jersey	J. Kinsey Wil: Livingston Step^{n} Crane Rich^{d} Smith John De Hart
Pennsylvania	Jos. Galloway John Dickinson Cha Humphreys Thomas Mifflin E. Biddle John Morton Geo: Ross
The Lower Counties New Castle	Cæsar Rodney Tho. M: Kean Geo: Read
Maryland	Mat Tilghman Th^{s} Johnson Jun^{r} W^{m} Paca Samuel Chase

11. The Appeals of Congress

During the final days of Congress, the delegates adopted four additional state papers. On October 21, 1774, they gave their approval to an "Address to the People of Great-Britain," a call to the people of Great Britain to join them in their efforts to secure redress of American grievances, and a "Memorial to the Inhabitants of the Colonies" represented at the Congress, which explained the measures adopted by Congress and appealed for *public support. Five days later on October 26, the delegates also accepted an "Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec," a plea for support that was subsequently sent to all of those continental colonies not represented in Congress: Georgia, East Florida, West Florida, Nova Scotia, and St. John. Finally, on the same day, they approved the "Petition to the King," which set forth all of the grievances listed in the Declaration and Resolves and asked that the King's "authority and interposition may be used for our relief." These four documents are reprinted here from* Journals of the Continental Congress, *I, 81–101, 105–113, 115–121.*

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A. ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN (October 21, 1774)

To the people of Great-Britain, from the delegates appointed by the several English colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, to consider of their grievances in general Congress, at Philadelphia, September 5th, 1774.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,

WHEN a Nation, led to greatness by the hand of Liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her Friends and Children, and instead of giving support to Freedom, turns advocate for Slavery and Oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty to you their posterity.

Be not surprized therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution, you so justly boast [of], and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guarantied by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British Sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you.

The cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

Know then, That we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow-subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury.

That we hold it essential to English Liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence.

That we think the Legislature of Great-Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or, to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

Are not the Proprietors of the soil of Great-Britain Lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their consent? will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever?—You know they will not.

Why then are the Proprietors of the soil of America less Lords of their property than you are of yours, or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or any other Parliament, or Council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given, why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the Pope can divest Kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame: At the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a Minister of principles, and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty.—We say at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

Prior to this æra you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandise should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade; and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state, to which we were bound by the strongest ties: And were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire: Did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which, you confessed, we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace?

Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp-Act. Paint, Glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country, subject to the Brtish state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally, for the express purpose of raising a Revenue.—In order to silence complaint, it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America for its protection and defence.—These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us. They are lavishly squandered on court favourites and ministerial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America and employing themselves, by partial representations, to traduce and embroil the Colonies. For the necessary support of government here, we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, chearfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property.—It was ordained, that whenever offences should be committed in the colonies against particular Acts imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalties in the Courts of Admiralty; by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the Crown, and according to the course of a law which exempts the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defendant either to evince his innocence or to suffer. To give this new judicatory the greater importance, and as, if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided that the Judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutor from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the course of our law, offences committed in such of the British dominions in which courts are established and justice duely and regularly administered, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their testimony, can be ascertained.

In all these Colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet by the construction of some, and the direction of other Acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a *jury* of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.

When the design of raising a revenue from the duties imposed on the importation of tea into America had in great measure been rendered abortive by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the Ministry with the East-India Company, and an Act passed enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a Governor, whom, as well as his predecessor Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships which had arrived with the tea were by his management prevented from returning.—The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed and exposed to sale; a Governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the Proprietors of the tea entitled to damages.—The Courts of Law were open, and Judges appointed by the Crown presided in them.—The East India Company however did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction, either from individuals or from the community in general. The Ministry, it seems, officiously made the case their own, and the great Council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property.—Diverse papers, letters, and other unauthenticated ex parte evidence were laid before them; neither the persons who destroyed the Tea, or the people of Boston, were called upon to answer the complaint. The Ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favourite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistance from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial; and that too by laws made expres[s]ly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitutions, the task will become more arduous when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the act of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress and calamity on thirty thousand souls, and those not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow subjects.

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from a British Sovereign, the fore-fathers of the present inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law, and without justice, by an Act of Parliament, their charter ~~is~~ destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed: And all this upon no better pretence, than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed on some merchandize, said to belong to one of the Companies, and because the Ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to compel due subordination and obedience to their mandates.

Nor are these the only capital grievances under which we labor. We might tell of dissolute, weak and wicked Governors having been set over us; of Legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects—of needy and ignorant dependents on great men, advanced to the seats of justice and to other places of trust and importance;—of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the weight and pressure of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for inslaving us.

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us; to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury; to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great-Britain; to blockade our ports; to destroy our Charters, and change our forms of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in all the Colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures: An Act was passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavouring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution; And by another Act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the Act:—And in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forebear complaining of it, as hostile to British America.—Superadded to these considerations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the Royal Proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country.—They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the habeas corpus Act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty:—Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world.

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to conside[illegible] what end they lead.

Admit that the Ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprize would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with Pensioners and Placemen.—We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious—in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

May not a Ministry with the same armies inslave you—It may be said, you will cease to pay them—but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add, the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent will then be in the power of your enemies—nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Do not treat this as chimerical—Know that in less than half a century, the quit-rents reserved to the Crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers, and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the Crown will be rendered independent on [of] you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the *remains of* Liberty in your Island.—In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us

We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation—To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies.—Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness, we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire—we shall consider your enemies as our enemies and your interest as our own.

But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of Mankind—If neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world.

Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

But lest the same supineness and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shewn, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the Ministry have endeavoured to induce submission to their measures.—The like fate may befal us all, we will endeavour therefore to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries and some of the conveniences of life.—We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West-Indies.

It is with the utmost regret however, that we find ourselves compelled by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But we hope, that the magnanimity and justice of the British Nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independance and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked Ministers and evil Counsellors whether in or out of office, and thereby restore that harmony, friendship and fraternal affection between all the Inhabitants of his Majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

B. MEMORIAL TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES (October 21, 1774)

To the inhabitants of the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

We, the Delegates appointed by the good people of the above Colonies to meet at Philadelphia in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective Constituents, have in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the important matters recommended to the Congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to you to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, upon a full and free discussion by the Representatives of so great a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this Address to these Resolutions.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified: That neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

From Councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the divine favour, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into and considered those extertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great-Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the Colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to revere.—In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon after the conclusion of the late war, there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these Colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of *profound peace,* alledging, "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great-Britain and his majesty's dominions in America, and the *necessity of raising a Revenue* in the said dominions for defraying the expenses of *defending,* protecting and securing the same," the *Commons of Great-Britain* undertook to *give* and *grant* to his Majesty many rates and duties, to be paid in these Colonies. To enforce the observance of this Act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great-Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *there* are to be recovered in any of the King's Courts of *Record,* at Westminster, or in the Court of Exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred *here* are to be recovered in any Court of Record, or in any Court of *Admiralty,* or *Vice-Admiralty, at the election of the informer or prosecutor.*

The Inhabitants of these Colonies confiding in the justice of Great-Britain were scarcely allowed *sufficient* time to receive and consider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the *Stamp Act,* and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British Parliament exercised, in the most explicit manner a power of *taxing* us, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* in the Colonies, to matters arising within the body of a county, directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said courts.

In the same year a tax was imposed upon us, by an Act, establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year, the Stamp-Act was repealed; not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but as the repealing Act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be "attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of con-"sequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great-"Britain."

In the same year, and by a subsequent Act, it was declared, "that "his Majesty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people "of these Colonies, BY STATUTES, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER."

In the same year, another Act was passed, for imposing rates and duties payable in these Colonies. In this Statute the Commons avoiding the terms of *giving* and *granting*, "humbly besought his Majesty, that it might be enacted, &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" several others granted by the Statute first before mentioned *for raising a revenue* and from some other expressions it appears, that these duties were intended *for that purpose*.

In the next year, (1767) an Act was made "to enable his Majesty "to put the customs, and *other duties* in America, under the manage-"ment of Commissioners, &c." and the King thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several Acts relating to the *revenue* and trade in *America*.

After the repeal of the Stamp-Act, having again resigned ourselves to our antient unsuspicious affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favourable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above mentioned Statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a Statute commonly called the *Glass, Paper* and *Tea Act*, made fifteen months after the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*, the Commons of Great-Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to "*give* and *grant* rates and duties to be paid in these Colonies," for the express purpose of "*raising a revenue*, to defray the charges of the *administration of justice*, the support of *civil government*, and *defending* the King's dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to be recovered *in the same manner*, with those mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

To this Statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity then universal throughout the Colonies, Parliament, in the same session, added another no less extraordinary.

Ever since the making the present peace, a standing army has been kept in these Colonies. From respect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial Legislatures generally made provision for supplying the troops.

The Assembly of the province of New York, having passed an Act of this kind, but differing in some articles, from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the *fifth* year of this reign, the House of Representatives in that Colony was prohibited by a Statute made in the session last mentioned, from making any bill, order, resolution or vote, except for adjourning or chusing a Speaker, until provision should be made by the said Assembly for furnishing the troops, within that province, not only with all such necessaries as were required by the Statute *which they were charged with disobeying*, but also with those required by two other *subsequent* Statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty-fourth day of March 1769.

These Statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehensions and discontents, that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the *Stamp-Act*; and amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made in the next year (1768) to establish Courts of *Admiralty* and *Vice-Admiralty* on a new model, expressly for the end of more *effectually* recovering of the *penalties* and *forfeitures* inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpose of *raising a revenue* in America, &c.

The immediate tendency of these statutes is, to subvert the right of having a share in legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the Colonists without their consent; the right of trial by jury, by substituting in their place trials in Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts, where single Judges preside, holding their Commissions during pleasure; and unduely to influence the Courts of common law, by rendering the Judges thereof totally dependant on the Crown for their salaries.

These statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not, and, from local circumstances, cannot be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontroulable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behaviour of these Colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them a charge of disloyalty to their Sovereign, or disaffection to their Mother-Country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services, which she has publickly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty and usefulness during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late Majesty and the present King.

The reproaches of those, who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts-Bay; but with what little reason, will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favour, will not be questioned.—Governor Bernard thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly—in his speech on the 24th of April, 1762,—"The unanimity and despatch, with which you have complied with the *requisitions of his Majesty,* require my particular acknowledgment. And it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province."

In another speech on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says,—"Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. *Every thing that hath been required of it hath been complied with;* and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been this year: the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the general Court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King."

Such was the conduct of the People of the Massachusetts-Bay, during the last war. As to their behaviour before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great-Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and chearfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions—but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova-Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745.

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances, that quickly succeeded on account of the stamp-act, being quieted by its repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the King and divers noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that act.

These circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's letters in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly shew, with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful reluctance they endeavoured to escape other subjects of future controversy. "The House, (says the Governor) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to *avoid* all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in *addressing* the King, *remonstrating* to the Secretary of State, and *employing* a separate agent. It is the *importance of this innovation,* without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time when I have a fair prospect of having, *in all other business,* nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House."

"They have acted *in all things,* even in their remonstrance *with temper and moderation;* they have *avoided* some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for *removing* some causes of former altercation."

"I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this Letter as, I hope, will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this province, for which purpose *considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives."*

The vindication of the province of Massachusetts-Bay contained in these Letters will have greater force, if it be considered, that they were written several months after the fresh alarm given to the colonies by the statutes passed in the preceding year.

In this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation in one of these statutes, that the interference of Parliament was *necessary* to provide for "defraying the charge of the *administration of justice,* the support of *civil government,* and defending the King's dominions in America."

As to the two first articles of expense, every colony had made such provision, as by their respective Assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient, and suitable to their several circumstances. Respecting the last, it is well known to all men, the least acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were established, and have generally defended themselves, without the least assistance from Great-Britain; and, that at the time of her *taxing* them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were labouring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they from sparing their money, when their Sovereign, constitutionally, asked their aids, that during the course of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expences of those strenuous efforts, which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had chearfully incurred.

Severe as the Acts of *Parliament* before mentioned are, yet the conduct of *Administration* hath been equally injurious, and irritating to this devoted country.

Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

By an order of the King, the authority of the Commander in chief, and under him, of the Brigadiers general, *in time of peace,* is rendered *supreme* in all the civil governments, in *America;* and thus an uncontroulable military power is vested in officers not known to the constitution of these colonies.

A large body of troops and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

The Judges of the Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves; the Commissioners of the customs are impowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

Judges of Courts of Common Law have been made entirely dependent on the Crown for their commissions and salaries.

A court has been established at Rhode-Island, for the purposes of taking Colonists to England to be tried.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the Representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt; and Assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances it will sufficiently appear, on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

The tranquillity of the colonies having been again disturbed, as has been mentioned, by the statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "*presumption*" of the House of Representatives for "resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature *as that of writing to the other colonies, on the subject of their intended representations against some late Acts of Parliament,*" then declares that "his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament:"—and afterwards adds,—"It is the *King's pleasure,* that as soon as the General Court is again assembled, at the time prescribed by the Charter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in his Majesty's name, to *rescind* the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the Speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding."

"If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty's "reasonable expectation, it is the King's pleasure, that you should immediately dissolve them."

This letter being laid before the House, and the resolution not being rescinded according to the order, the Assembly was dissolved. A lette of a similar nature was sent to other Governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of the Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, to be *rescinded* also; and the Houses of Representatives in other colonies refusing to comply Assemblies were dissolved.

These mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the Assemblies only the election between dictated submission and the threatened punishment: A punishment too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves—of agreeing in *petitions* for redress of grievances, that equally affect all.

The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston soon followed these events in the same year; though that town, the province in which it is situated, and all the colonies, from abhorrence of a contest with their parent state, permitted the execution even of those statutes, against which they so unanimously were complaining, remonstrating and supplicating.

Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English Ministers should have *rejoiced* to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East-India company, to send to this continent vast quantities of Tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of these colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South-Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined, the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of parliament therefore were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For tho' it is pretended, that the province of Massachusetts-Bay, has been particularly disrespectful to Great-Britain, yet in truth the behaviour of the people, in other colonies, has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by parliament." No step however has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts-Bay will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great-Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry.

If the unexampled pacifick temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethern, suffering in a common cause, and thus disunited all may be subdued.

To promote these designs, another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last mentioned, an act was passed, for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established; and the people there deprived of a right to an assembly, trials by jury and the English laws in civil cases abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws established, in direct violation of his Majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province: and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northernly and westernly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such, as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and is now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

At this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavoured to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character, these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore, we were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom, from which we derive our original, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction, that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body, subsists the social band, which we ardently wish *may never* be dissolved, and which *cannot* be dissolved, until their minds shall become *indisputably hostile*, or their *inattention* shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting with the powers of the realm the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting, that we subject ourselves to similar inconveniences; that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that *they,* the defenders of true religion, and the assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of *our open* and *their own secret* enemies; whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Another reason, that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance, that the mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles, cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shewn that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that must from your behaviour take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to chuse, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal, to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief: But we think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you that the schemes agitated against these colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent, that you should extend your views to the most mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things we earnestly intreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favour of almighty God: and we fervently beseech his divine goodness, to take you into his gracious protection.

C. ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF QUEBEC (October 26, 1774)

Friends and fellow-subjects,

We, the Delegates of the Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, to represent them in a General Congress at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances, having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested.

When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, or brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.

These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.

Little did we imagine that any succeeding Ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to with-hold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were thus justly entitled.

But since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when Ministers of this flagitious temper, have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of *that* form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reasons herein after mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches.

"In every human society," says the celebrated Marquis *Beccaria,* "there is an *effort, continually tending* to confer on one part the heighth of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to *oppose this effort,* and to diffuse their influence *universally* and *equally.*"

Rulers stimulated by this pernicious "effort," and subjects animated by the just "intent of opposing good laws against it," have occasioned that vast variety of events, that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or sett of men, is the production of misery to all men.

On the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabrick of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: And, as an illustrious author[1] of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes,—"They gave the people of their Colonies, the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

In this form, the first grand right, is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence of being ruled by *laws,* which they themselves approve, not by *edicts* of *men* over whom they have no controul. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, which by their honest cares and labours they have acquired, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them, but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment deem it just and necessary to give them for public service, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods, in which they shall be collected.

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[1] Montesquieu.

The influence of this right extends still farther. If money is wanted by *Rulers, who have in any manner oppressed* the people, they may retain it, until their grievances are redressed; and thus peaceably procure relief, without trusting to despised petitions, or disturbing the public tranquillity.

The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty nor property, can be taken from the possessor, until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers of his vicinage, who from that neighbourhood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character, and the characters of the witnesses, upon a fair trial, and full enquiry, face to face, in open Court, before as many of the people as chuse to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him; a sentence that cannot injure him, without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also; as the question may turn on points, that, in some degree, concern the general welfare; and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent, that, on a similar trial of their own, may militate against themselves.

Another right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, tho' by order of Government, he may, by virtue of this right, immediately obtain a writ, termed a Habeas Corpus, from a Judge, whose sworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly enquired into and redressed.

A fourth right, is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done, in all well regulated states, by men hired for the purpose.

The last right we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of Government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated, into more honourable and just modes of conducting affairs.

These are the invaluable rights, that form a considerable part of our mild system of government; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

These are the rights, without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which, these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights, a profligate Ministry are now striving, by force of arms, to ravish from us, and which we are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with our lives.

These are the right *you* are entitled to and ought at this moment in perfection, to exercise. And what is offered to you by the late Act of Parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected, firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws, divine and human, could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in *civil* cases restored? *It seems so*. But observe the cautious kindness of the Ministers, who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are—that those "laws shall be the rule, until they shall be *varied* or *altered* by any ordinances of the Governor and Council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the *criminal* law of England, and its benefits and advantages," commended in the said statute, and said to "have been sensibly felt by you," secured to you and your descendants? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary *"alterations"* by the Governor and Council; and a power is expressly reserved of appointing "such courts of *criminal, civil,* and *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere *will,* by which you hold your lives and religion. The Crown and its Ministers are impowered, as far as they could be by Parliament, to establish even the *Inquisition* itself among you. Have you an Assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity, and in what manner, your money shall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon, and removeable at, the *pleasure* of a Minister. Besides, another late statute, made without your consent, has subjected you to the impositions of *Excise,* the horror of all free states; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of taxes, and laying open to insolent tax-gatherers, houses, the scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of English subjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorized to "assess, levy, or apply any *rates* and *taxes,* but for the inferior purposes of *making roads,* and erecting and repairing *public buildings,* or for other *local* conveniences, within your respective towns and districts." Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property, honestly acquired by *Canadians,* to be held as sacred as that of *Englishmen?* Have not Canadians sense enough to attend to any other public affairs, than gathering stones from one place, and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but insulted. Nay more!—With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit has an insolent Ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow-subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to persuade themselves that your gratitude, for the injuries and insults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms, and render yourselves the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools, in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from *us,* which they have treacherously denied to *you;* the unavoidable consequence of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity being ever restored to freedom: For idiocy itself cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves.

What would your countryman, the immortal *Montesquieu,* have said to such a plan of domination, as has been framed for you? Hear his words, with an intenseness of thought suited to the importance of the subject.—"In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, *ought to be con-*

cerned in his own government: Therefore the *legislative* should reside in the whole body of the *people,* or their *representatives.*"—"The political liberty of the subject is *a tranquillity of mind,* arising from the opinion each person has of his *safety.* In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted, as that one man need not be *afraid* of another. When the power of *making* laws, and the power of *executing* them, are *united* in the same person, or in the same body of Magistrates, *there can be no liberty;* because apprehensions may arise, lest the same *Monarch* or *Senate,* should *enact* tyrannical laws, to *execute* them in a tyrannical manner."

"The power of *judging* should be exercised by persons taken from the *body of the people,* at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law. *There is no liberty,* if the power of *judging* be not *separated* from the *legislative* and *executive* powers."

'Military men belong to a profession, which *may be* useful, but *is often* dangerous."—"The enjoyment of liberty, and even its support and preservation, consists in every man's being allowed to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments."

Apply these decisive maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own state. You have a Governor, it may be urged, vested with the *executive* powers, or the powers of *administration:* In him, and in your Council, is lodged the power of *making laws.* You have *Judges,* who are to *decide* every clause affecting your lives, liberty or property. Here is, indeed, an appearance of the several powers being *separated* and *distributed* into *different* hands, for checks one upon another, the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinsel'd outside, and exerting the natural sagacity of Frenchmen, *examine* the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of holy writ, "a whited sepulchre," for burying your lives, liberty and property.

Your *Judges,* and your *Legislative Council,* as it is called, are *dependant* on your *Governor,* and *he is dependant* on the servant of the Crown, in Great-Britain. The *legislative, executive* and *judging* powers are *all* moved by the nods of a Minister. Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns, their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every sentence, beginning with a benevolent pretension, concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is—that the Crown and its Ministers shall be as absolute throughout your extended province, as the despots of Asia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters? your persons from Letters de Cachet, gaols, dungeons, and oppressive services? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you or your posterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of these Colonies.

What advice would the truly great man before-mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, was he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbours, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bands of affection and interest, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under Governors, Intendants, and Military Tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of English freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable?

Would not this be the purport of his address? "Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North-America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting, to compleat the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. Be assured, that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine, that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know, that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those, who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

Should there be any among you, as there generally are in all societies, who prefer the favours of Ministers, and their own private interests, to the welfare of their country, the temper of such selfish persons will render them incredibly active in opposing all public-spirited measures, from an expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid industry, by their superiors; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard against such men, and not sacrifice the liberty and happiness of the whole Canadian people and their posterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

We do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common Sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism, but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such in exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly desirable union, we submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts, and elect Deputies, who afterwards meeting in a provincial Congress, may chuse Delegates, to represent your province in the continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775.

In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of the last month, and continued to this day, it has been, with universal pleasure and an unanimous vote, resolved, That we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have associated to stop all importations from Great-Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those Kingdoms and the West-Indies, after the tenth day of next September, unless the said grievances are redressed.

That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of North-America, and may grant to our joint exertions an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow-subjects.

By order of the Congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, *President.*

D. PETITION TO THE KING (October 26, 1774)

To the Kings most excellent majesty

Most gracious Sovereign

We your majestys faithful subjects of the colonies of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army with a considerable naval armament has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The Authority of the commander in chief, and, under him, of the brigadiers general has in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North-America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and, new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependant on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Councellors holding their commissions, during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majestys reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England, for offences alledged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a staute passed in the thirty fifth year of Henry the eighth; and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last sessions of parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts-bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony or even to Great Britain for trial whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholick religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free protestant English settlements; and a fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North-America.

To a sovereign, who "glories in the name of Briton" the bare recital of these acts must we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies, to trace the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us, by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one, to receive injuries and be sensible of them.

Had our creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to his adoreable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not, but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessings, they received from divine providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude from the preeminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power, to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen can not be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alledged of taking our property from us without our consent "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence protection and security of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: And for the defence protection and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects, in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honourable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably, cheerfully and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience, yet we doubt not, the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us and our connexion with Great-Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alledged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts-bay, and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great-Britain and these colonies so necessary to the happiness of both and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament we confide, for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard, we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For appealing to that being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign,
in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy and keeping them united; for the interests of your family depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained.

We therefore most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions 'til time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.

Henry Middleton
Jn^{o} Sullivan
Nath^{l} Folsom
Thomas Cushing
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Rob^{t} Treat Paine
Step Hopkins
Sam: Ward
Elipht Dyer
Roger Sherman
Silas Deane
Phil. Livingston
John Alsop
Isaac Low
Jas. Duane
John Jay
W^{m} Floyd
Henry Wisner
S: Bœrum
Wil: Livingston
John De Hart
Step^{n} Crane
Rich^{d} Smith
E Biddle
J: Galloway
John Dickinson
John Morton
Thomas Mifflin
George Ross
Cha^{s} Humphreys
Cæsar Rodney
Tho^{s} M: Kean
Geo: Read
Mat. Tilghman
Th^{s} Johnson Jun^{r}
W^{m} Paca
Samuel Chase
Richard Henry Lee
Patrick Henry
G^{o} Washington
Edmund Pendleton
Rich$^{d.}$ Bland
Benj^{n} Harrison
Will Hooper
Joseph Hewes
R^{d} Caswell
Tho Lynch
Chris^{t} Gadsden
J. Rutledge
Edward Rutledge

Reception of the Measures of Congress

12. "The United Wisdom of North-America": Letter of Vox Populi (November 10, 1774)

Many articles appeared in colonial newspapers praising the work of Congress and urging public support. Representative of these was the letter of Vox Populi, the voice of the people, which was published in the South-Carolina Gazette *(Charleston) in early November. It is reprinted from the version which appeared in the* Pennsylvania Gazette *(Philadelphia), November 30, 1774.*

* * * * * * *

Ubi consulueris mature, FACTO opus est.
SALLUST.

Many Thanks to the worthy Congress re-echoes from the generous Breasts of grateful Thousands: The firmest Friend of our Continent, cannot form a more sanguine Wish, than that the Colonies may firmly execute what they have wisely resolved. When I read their glorious Proceedings, I see inscribed on every Page, in Golden Capitals, "THE AMERICANS ARE INVINCIBLE." The untutored Savages of the new World, and the polished Sons of Freedom in the old, when they know our manly Opposition, with Admiration will exclaim, "*Brave Americans, worthy of Liberty!*" and join in their united Supplications to the known and unknown God, to smile upon our glorious Struggle.

Some extol Roman Greatness, and others admire Corsican Bravery, but the Heart of every Son of these Provinces may distend with Joy, when he reflects that he is born an American.

Oh glorious Day! Oh happy Union! From Nova-Scotia to Georgia one mighty Mind inspires the whole! When I consider the Unanimity, the Firmness, the Wisdom of our late Representatives, I feel a Joy unutterable, and an Exultation never felt before. What remains, but that each one join Heart and Hand in the vigorous Execution of their wisely concerted Plan? The Wretch who hangs back, proclaims by his Delay, that he either regards not the Welfare of America, or that he understands her Interests better than the united Wisdom of her Sons.

We now know our Duty, happy for us, if we reduce our Knowledge into Practice. Without this, in vain has the Congress met;—in vain have they resolved. Much better to have acquiesced at once, than to fail in the Execution of a Plan with so much Pains concerted. In this Case we may expect the Derision of School-Boys, and the Execrations of Posterity.

Away with the flimsy Excuses suggested by Avarice and mistaken Self-interest. Know it, ye American Colonies, that true Self-interest demands the exact Observance of all the Self-denying Injunctions of the Association: That fond Principle which leads a distressed Mariner, for the Preservation of Life, to throw overboard his Property, much more consistently calls upon you, to save yourselves and Posterity by Frugality, and a temporary Suspension of Exports.

The Wit of Man could not have devised any Thing more likely to obtain a Redress of our Grievances than the Plan concerted. In vain has Humanity and Justice plead our Cause; but now Self-love will operate in our Favour, more strongly than the Cries of the Infant, Fatherless and Widow. If we strictly adhere to the Line marked out, in a few Months the West-India Planters, the English and Irish Manufacturers will be so distressed, that from a Regard to their own Interests, they will espouse our Cause in a Manner that will shake the Throne of Majesty itself, whilst Lord N——h, and every Abettor of American Opression, will be cursed with the dying Groans of starving Millions.

The present Struggle will either insure Happiness and Freedom, or miserable Slavery to this Continent. America, fully and freely represented, has drawn up its Bill of Rights, these acknowledged, our Ruin can proceed only from ourselves. To obtain a thorough Establishment of them, we need only wield the Weapons of Self-denial prescribed by our Representatives. If we fail in our present Opposition, future Attempts must certainly be in vain; whereas if we succeed, no Minister will be hardy enough to renew the unsuccessful Attack. Our All is at Stake, and upon the Behaviour of this Day hangs the Fate of future Generations. Let every one, therefore, who loves his Country, walk in the Way pointed out by the united Wisdom of North-America.

Vox Populi.

Charles-Town, *Nov. 10, 1774.*

13. "What end can this serve but to create confusion": Letter to the People of New-Jersey (November 19, 1774)

By no means all Americans agreed with Vox Populi, however. A vocal minority attacked the productions of Congress as illegal and ill considered and urged the public to shun the Association. Among this group was the anonymous writer of a letter "To the People of New-Jersey," which is reprinted here from Peter Force, ed., American Archives *(1837–1853), 4th series, I, 987–989.*

* * * * * * *

My Friends and Countrymen: I had once some hope that the Resolutions of the Congress would have been such as to produce some good to the Colonies, but I find my fears verified by their proceedings; chosen, on one side, they seem to have had no other view than to please their electors, and to forward confusion among us. They have formed no system by which the present differences might be solved, and future contentions avoided, but deliberatively have made bad worse, left us no retreat, nor the mother country any opening to advance to a reconciliation.

With sovereign contempt they have overlooked the Legislature of *Great Britain,* and appealed to the People; will not this people take offence at the indignity so manifestly shown to their Legislature, and receive the appeal with disgust? especially when they see that we have forbid all intercourse with them, and that with as much seeming authority as if we were an independent state, and determining on a rupture with them? Nay, will not this conduct be construed as open enmity to the *British* name?

Again, with the greatest assurance they have arraigned the Lords and Commons of the highest injustice, in altering the form of one Government, though perhaps for the better, and yet have taken upon themselves to declare the old established forms in others, unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of *American* Legislation, because they have a Legislative Council. Thus, by raising new contentions, and drawing us into new controversies, what end can this serve but to create confusion? From confusion, my countrymen, is to be reared the new Republick.

Again, they have warmly resolved against the Laws of Trade, the Officers of the Customs, the authority of Judges of the Admiralty, &c. Perhaps in some instances the Laws of Trade may be severe, and the appointment and exercise of the offices of Judges of the Admiralty, and of the Customs, may be real matter of complaint; but why did they not ask redress of the Legislature of *Great Britain*? I suspect, that feeling their influence, and elated with power, new and unconstitutional, they apprehended the application would be successful, and their authority at an end; they, therefore, have made their appeal to the people, hoping to stir up rebellion and strife again; they have tickled you by increasing the number of your Committees, that you may appear to have a great share in this new Government, and at the same time that they hold out to you an abhorrence of the Laws of Trade, and take upon themselves to give power, to Heaven knows who, to inspect the entries at the Custom House, and by the eleventh article of the Association, these Committee men have a large field to range in, and may hold up the most respectable characters among us to contempt, and turn him over to be treated as an enemy of his country.

Had an Act of Parliament formed such an inquisition, by giving power to any man, or set of men, to observe the conduct of their fellow-subjects, and, as a majority should determine, their neighbour should be exposed to insult and contempt at their pleasure, how should we have heard of the liberty of the subject, his right to trial by his peers, &c., &c. Yet these men, at the same time they arraign the highest authority on earth, insolently trample on the liberties of their fellow-subjects; and, without the shadow of a trial, take from them their property, grant it to others, and not content with all this, hold them up to contempt, and expose them to the vilest injuries.

View again the conduct of these men while they declare a Non-Importation from *Great Britain* and *Ireland,* of any Goods, Wares, and Merchandises—of Molasses, &c., from the *West Indies,*—of Wines from the *Maderia* and *Western Islands,* and thereby, in effect, prohibit an exportation of the Iron, Lumber, Wheat, Pork, Beef, Flour, and Corn, of the middle Colonies and particularly of this, as the places to which all these are shipped can give us no return but in the articles our Congress prohibit us to import. Yet Rice, the staple of *Carolina,* is to be exported without restraint or limitation. Why this distinction? Is it because the Delegates of that Colony had more regard for the interest of the people they represented? Or that our Delegates could take what liberties they pleased with us? Or what was the reason?

When unreasonable partiality appears in men—when they take much pains, use studied language, and appeal to Heaven for the uprightness of their intentions, we have just cause to suspect; for the sincerity of our intentions is best shown by our actions, it wants not the parade of words; the plainest language is best, and requires no appeal to Heaven to induce our belief. Yet this Congress, in all their publications, (except the letter to General *Gage*) have paid more attention to sounding words, and taken more pains to convince the world they are scholars, than to show a disposition to settle our differences. In short, when they appear averse to conciliating measures, and show a disposition to create confusion, and hum us into war and bloodshed, it is manifest they are actuated by motives inconsistent with the people's interest. For examples of their inclination to war, let me appeal to their adopting the *Suffolk* Resolves; and to their own inconsistent minutes, for a determination upon confusion and mischief, particularly upon that arrogant Resolve, wherein they require the repeal of many Laws of Trade, &c., “as “essentially necessary in order to restore harmony between “*Great Britain* and the *American Colonies.*” Can the people who they style spirited and brave, stoop to such humiliating terms? Could this Resolve then have been made with any other view than to affront a brave people, and prevent them from hearing and redressing real grievances? It is natural, my countrymen, for men who feel themselves suddenly clothed with unlimited powers, to have a desire to continue that authority they have by accident acquired, and to keep the ball up, for if once it comes to the ground, then authority vanishes, and the people will no longer be dupes to their ambition.

All changes in Government, my countrymen, are dangerous to the people—we have insensibly, and in the hurry of our zeal, departed from our Constitution, and entered a new mode of governing, as inconsistent with liberty as it is opposite to Monarchy; in short, we have slid into a Republick when we did not mean it, and out of fear of a distant and ideal tyranny, we have created a dangerous and real one among ourselves. We have no instances of laws so severe, or any regulations so inimical to liberty as the Resolves of this Congress, who show themselves double-faced on every occasion: read their cajoling letter to the *Canadians*; again, see how these *Canadians* are painted in another place as fit tools, from “ancient prejudices, to act with hostility against the true Protestant “Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministery shall choose to “direct them.” See the artifice that is used through the whole of their proceedings to keep you in a ferment, and you will trace the thirst of dominion through every page. It is not so much, my countrymen, that the mother country is inclined to tyranny, as it is those among us who desire rule, and want to lord it over us, and therefore keep up a controversy that sooner or later will end in our ruin.

As we have already done what we ought not to have done, and left undone those things which we ought to have done, let us shun the rock these pilots would run us upon; let us in time return to our Constitution, and by our Representatives, like honest men, state our grievances, and ask relief of the mother state; let us do this with that plainness and decency of language that will show at once our sincerity, and remove every suspicion that we have the least intention or desire to be independent. Let us remember that our burden has been light; that the mother state has ever protected us by her arms—and her renown among the Nations of the world—nay; let us remember that these men who are most forward and noisy patriots in the great Towns have acquired wealth in forbidden trade, and have, even in that trade, been protected by the name of *Britain*, and ought to be suspected and detested by us, as we have too long been duped by them.

Let us shun an Association artfully designed to entangle us, and fear not the threats contained in it; let us remember ourselves, our children, our country; and while we are attentive to our liberties, let us not forget our duty.

New Jersey, November 19, 1774.

14. Instructing Posterity in the "great science of securing and perpetuating freedom": "Political Observations, Without Order; Addressed to the People of America" (November 14, 1774)

Still others generally approved of what Congress had done but found in the proceedings and the example of Congress the hope for some great new political creation which might perfect the "great science of securing and perpetuating Freedom." *One such person was the author of "Political Observations, Without Order," which came out of Philadelphia in early November 1774. In its criticism of the "history of Kings," this essay came very close to an advocacy of republicanism. It is reprinted here from Force, ed,* American Archives, *4th series, I, 976–977.*

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1. *All* power of Government is derived from *God* through the instrumentality of Kings or the *People*. Has the impartial Governour of the universe communicated his attributes of power, wisdom, justice and mercy to Kings only, and denied the least portion of them to every other class of mankind? Let history decide this question. The history of Kings is nothing but the history of the folly and depravity of human nature.

2. To live (says Bishop *Hoadly*) by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. If the Bible was silent, analogy would teach us that the depravity and misery of one man could contaminate and render miserable a whole race of men. Look up then, mortals, to Kings with humility. They are *living* histories of your first calamity. *One Man* still continues to be the source of misery and depravity in all the Kingdoms of the world. *God* deals

with all mankind as he did with the Jews. He gives them Kings *only* in his anger. We read now and then, it is true, of a good King, so we read likewise of a Prophet escaping unhurt from a Lion's den, and of three men walking in a fiery furnace, without having even their garments singed. The order of nature is as much inverted in the first, as it was in the last two cases. A good King is a miracle.

3. The *American Congress* derives all its power, wisdom and justice, not from scrolls of parchment signed by Kings, but from the *People*. A more august, and a more equitable Legislative body never existed in any quarter of the globe. It is founded upon the principles of the most perfect liberty. A freeman in honouring and obeying the Congress, honours and obeys *himself*. The man who refuses to do both, is a slave. He knows nothing of the dignity of his nature. He cannot govern himself. Expose him for sale at a publick vendue. Send him to plant Sugar with his fellow slaves in *Jamaica*. Let not the air of *America* be contaminated with his breath.

4. The Congress, like other Legislative bodies, have annexed penalties to their laws. They do not consist of the gallows, the rack, and the stake. These punishments belong to vindictive states, and are proper only for a corrupted people. They have held out no punishments but *infamy*, a species of infamy which sound more dreadful to a freeman than the gallows, the rack, or the stake. It is this, he shall be declared in the publick papers to be an *Enemy to his country*.

5. The wisdom and revenge of man have been exhausted to find out a suitable punishment for treason, or for those crimes which affect the liberty and happiness of a people. The least deviation from the Resolves of the Congress will be treason:—such treason as few villains have ever had an opportunity of committing. It will be treason against the present inhabitants of the Colonies: Against the millions of unborn generations who are to exist hereafter in *America:* Against the only liberty and happiness which remain to mankind: Against the last hopes of the wretched in every corner of the world.—In a word, it will be treason against *God*. It will be to take from *Him* (with reverence be it spoken) the power of making his creatures happy. I do not attempt to hint a punishment for such extensive and complicated guilt. Infamy is a punishment of the soul. It can only affect a freeman. The body of the wretch who is capable of violating the Resolves of the Congress is the only part of him which can be punished. But here all ingenuity fails us. The tortures of *Damien* and *Ravillac* would be rendered abortive for this purpose by the longest possible duration of human life.

6. There is a strange veneration for antiquity and disinclination for innovations in all civil as well as religious bodies. We are now laying the foundation of an *American* Constitution. Let us therefore hold up every thing we do to the eye of posterity. They will probably measure their liberties and happiness by the most careless of our footsteps. Let no unhallowed hand touch the precious seed of Liberty. Let us form the glorious tree in such a manner, and impregnate it with such principles of life, that it shall last forever. *Greece, Rome* and *Britain* would still have been free, had not the principles of corruption been concealed in the elements of their constitutions. Let us not avail ourselves of the *just* spirit of the times, but *bind*

up posterity to be freemen. Our Congress were actuated with this prophetick benevolence, when they dissolved themselves, and recommended a new choice of Delegates in the Spring.

7. There is some reason to fear that the steps we are obliged to take to *defend* our liberties, will render us careless in *establishing* them. Wise and good men in *Britain* have lifted up the curtain of futurity in *America.* Let us not be afraid to look through it. Ye intuitive Spirits who see through the connection of cause and effect. Ye holy Spirits who have been accustomed to trace the operations of Divine Providence. Ye decisive Spirits who resolve and execute at once.—Ye know what I mean. "*In eternitatem pingo*" said a poet. Let us neither think, write, speak, nor act, without keeping our eyes fixed upon the period which shall dissolve our connexion with *Great Britain.* The delirium of the present Ministry may precipitate it: But the ordinary course of human things must accomplish it. *Britain* may relax from her present arbitrary measures, but political necessity, not *justice,* must hereafter be the measure of her actions. Freemen cannot bear a middle state between liberty and slavery. It is essential to the happiness of liberty, that it should be secure and perpetual.

8. A rotation of offices is one of the life guards of liberty. The right as well as the obligations to Legislation, are alike binding upon all men. To prevent pride and excessive popularity, and to diffuse knowledge and virtue, are the surest methods of securing and perpetuating publick liberty. These are to be obtained only by a constant rotation of offices.

9. I almost wish to live to hear the triumphs of the Jubilee in the year 1874; to see the medals, pictures, fragments of writings, &c., that shall be displayed to revive the memory of the proceedings of the Congress in the year 1774. If any adventitious circumstances shall give precedency on that day it shall be to inherit the blood or even to possess the name of a member of that glorious assembly. I cannot after this, be understood to mean the least reflection upon any one of that body when I urge, that only one-half, or at most two-thirds of the old Members should be returned from each Colony to attend the next Congress. The good dispositions in human nature sometimes lead us astray in publick affairs. Do not, illustrious Senators, avail yourselves of the gratitude and veneration of your countrymen. You have, we trust, made them *free.* But a nobler task awaits you. Instruct them, instruct posterity in the great science of securing and perpetuating *Freedom.*

APPENDIX

*Biographical Directory of the First Continental Congress**

CONNECTICUT

DEANE, Silas, a Delegate from Connecticut; born in Groton, Conn., December 24, 1737; received a classical training, and was graduated from Yale College, in 1758 and received A.M. from Yale in 1763; taught school and studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1761 and commenced practice in Wethersfield, Conn.; engaged in mercantile pursuits in the same town; chairman of local committee to enforce a non-consumption agreement 1769; entered General Assembly 1772; secretary of legislative committee of correspondence, May 1773; deputy of the general assembly 1768–1775; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; ordered to France in March 1776 as a secret political and financial agent, and in September was commissioned as Ambassador with Franklin and Lee; negotiated and signed the treaty between France and the United States in Paris on February 6, 1778; personally secured the services of Lafayette, De Kalb, and other foreign officers, and procured supplies in Europe for the colonies; was criticized for his handling of these matters; learned that Congress had ordered him back to the colonies in 1778; was investigated by Congress; returned to France to procure transcripts of his transactions there; later found that the publication of some of his confidential dispatches had embittered that Government against him, and he was compelled to go to Holland, and thence to Great Britain, greatly impoverished; died on board ship sailing from England to Canada September 23, 1789; interment in Deal, on the Kentish coast, England; in 1842 Congress vindicated his memory by deciding that a considerable sum of money was due him, which was paid to his heirs.

DYER, Eliphalet, a Delegate from Connecticut; born in Windham, Conn., September 14, 1721; pursued preparatory studies, and was graduated from Yale College, New Haven, Conn., in 1740; served as town clerk; appointed captain in the militia in 1745; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1746 and commenced practice in Windham; justice of the peace in 1746; member of the General Assembly 1747–1762; and was advanced to the rank of major in the last-named year; was active in the project of establishing a Connecticut colony in the Susquehanna Valley, being an original member of the Susquehanna Co. formed in 1753, and served as a member of the committee to purchase the Indian title to the lands selected for the proposed colony at Wyoming, which were then believed to be within the charter limits of Connecticut; in 1755, during the French and Indian War, was appointed a lieutenant colonel of one of the regiments sent by Connecticut to assist in the reduction of Crown Point, and later, in 1758, was made colonel of a regiment sent against Canada; member of the governor's council 1762–1784; went to England in 1763 to obtain confirmation of the Susquehanna Co.'s title to the Wyoming region, but was unsuccessful; appointed comptroller of the port of New London in 1764; delegate to the Stamp-Act Congress in 1765; judge of the superior court 1766–1793, and served as chief judge from 1789 until 1793; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1779 and 1780–1783; member of the committee of safety in 1775; retired from public life in 1793; died in Windham, Conn., May 13, 1807; interment in Windham Cemetery.

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*These sketches were compiled by **Katherine Kobayashi** from the ***Biographical Dictionary of Congress 1774–1971*** **(1974) with extensive corrections from the data in the** ***Dictionary of American Biography*** **(1927–37).**

SHERMAN, Roger, a Delegate, a Representative, and a Senator from Connecticut; born in Newton, Mass., April 19, 1721; moved with his parents to Stoughton (now Canton), Mass., in 1723; attended the common schools; learned the shoemaker's trade; move to New Milford, Conn., in 1743; appointed surveyor of New Haven County in 1745, active in town affairs as juryman, gauger, town clerk *pro tem*, clerk of the church, deacon, school committeeman, and agent to the Assembly on town business; studied law; was admitted to the bar in February 1754 and practiced; member of the Connecticut Assembly 1755–1756, 1758–1761, and 1764–1766; justice of the peace for Litchfield County 1755–1761, and of the quorum 1759–1761; member of a committee to consider the colony's part in financing the Crown Point expedition 1755; appointed commissary for the Connecticut troops 1759; moved to New Haven, Conn., in June 1761; justice of the peace and quorum for New Haven County in 1765 and 1766; served in the State senate 1766–1785; judge of the superior court 1766–1789, head of New Haven Committee of Correspondence; member of the council of safety 1777–1779, and 1782; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1781, 1783, and 1784; a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a member of the committee which drafted it; member of the committee to prepare the Articles of Confederation; the only Member of the Continental Congress who signed all four of the great State papers—the Declaration of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Federal Confederation, mayor of New Haven from 1784 until his death; delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787; elected to the First Congress (March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791); elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William S. Johnson and served from June 13, 1791, until his death in New Haven, Conn., July 23, 1793; interment in the Grove Street Cemetery.

DELAWARE

McKEAN, Thomas, a Delegate from Delaware; born in New London, Chester County, Pa., March 19, 1734; studied at Rev. Francis Alison's academy in New London, Pa., for seven years; engaged as clerk to the prothonotary of the court of common pleas for two years; deputy prothonotary and register for the probate of wills for New Castle County, studying law at the same time with his cousin, David Finney; was admitted to the bar in 1755 and commenced practice in New Castle, Del.; appointed deputy attorney general for Sussex County in 1756 and served until 1758 when he resigned; assisted in compiling the provincial laws in 1762; clerk of the Delaware Assembly 1757–1759; went to England and resumed the study of law at the Middle Temple in London; member of the Delaware House of Assembly 1762–1779 and served as speaker in 1772–1773; appointed one of the three trustees of the loan office for New Castle County in 1764 and served until 1772; delegate from Delaware to the Stamp-Act Congress in 1765; appointed by the Governor sole notary for the lower counties of Delaware July 10, 1765; in the same year received the commission of a justice of the peace, of the court of common pleas and quarter sessions, and of the orphans' court for New Castle County; appointed collector of the port of New Castle in 1771; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776 and 1778–1783 and served as President of Congress in 1781; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the State house of representatives in 1776 and 1777 and served as speaker in the latter year; President of the State of Delaware in 1777; chief justice of Pennsylvania 1777–1799; served in the Revolutionary War; member of the convention of Pennsylvania which ratified the Constitution of the United States December 12, 1787; delegate to the State constitutional convention 1789–1796; Governor of Pennsylvania 1799–1808; retired from public life; died in Philadelphia, Pa., June 24, 1817; interment in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

READ, George, a Delegate and a Senator from Delaware; born near North East, Cecil County, Md., September 18, 1733; completed preparatory studies at a school in Chester, Pa., and at the academy of Rev. Francis Alison in New London, Pa.; studied law in the office of John Moland of Philadelphia; was admitted to the bar and began practice in Philadelphia in 1753; moved to New Castle, Del., in 1754; attorney general for lower Delaware 1763–1774; member of the provincial assembly

1765–1777; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; president of the State constitutional convention in 1776; vice president of the State under this constitution; delegate from Delaware to the Federal Constitutional Convention; member of the State house of representatives in 1779 and 1780; judge of the United States Court of Appeals in admiralty cases in 1782; elected to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1789, to September 18, 1793, when he resigned, having been appointed chief justice of Delaware; served until his death in New Castle, Del., September 21, 1798; interment in Immanuel Churchyard.

RODNEY, Caesar, a Delegate from Delaware; born near Dover, Del., October 7, 1728; completed preparatory studies; engaged in agricultural pursuits; high sheriff of Kent County 1755–1758; served Kent County as register of wills, recorder of deeds, clerk of the orphans' court, and justice of the peace; captain in the Kent County Militia in 1756; superintendent of the printing of Delaware currency in 1759; member of the State assembly 1758, 1761–1770, 1772–1776; speaker of the assembly 1769, 1773, 1774, 1775–1776; representative of Kent County at the Stamp Act Congress, 1765; trustee of the Kent County Loan Office in 1769–1784; associate justice of the Delaware Supreme Court 1769–1777; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; served in the Revolutionary Army as a brigadier general; again a Member of the Continental Congress in 1777 and 1778; reelected, but before taking his seat was elected President of Delaware, and served from 1778 to 1781; again a Member of the Continental Congress in 1782 and 1783; died in Dover, Del., June 29, 1784; interment on his farm, "Byfield," near Dover; reinterment in the Episcopal Cemetery, Dover, Del.

MARYLAND

CHASE, Samuel, a Delegate from Maryland; born in Princess Anne, Somerset County, Md., April 17, 1741; was tutored privately and pursued an academic course; studied law in the offices of Hammond and Hall of Annapolis; was admitted to practice in the mayor's court in 1761 and in chancery and certain of the county courts in 1763; commenced practice in Annapolis, Md.; member of the General Assembly of Maryland 1764–1784; member of the Maryland Committee of Correspondence 1774; member of the Maryland convention and the Council of Safety 1775; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1778, 1784, and 1785; sent on a special mission to Canada in 1776 to induce the Canadians to join in the revolution against Great Britain; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; went to England in 1783 as agent for the State of Maryland to recover the stock in the Bank of England which had been purchased when the State was a colony of Great Britain; moved to Baltimore, Md., in 1786; judge of the Baltimore criminal court in 1788; appointed judge of the general court of Maryland in 1791; appointed by President Washington an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1796; articles of impeachment were filed against him in 1804 on charges of malfeasance in office five years previous in his conduct of the trials of Fries for treason and Callendar for sedition, and for a more recent address to a Maryland grand jury; tried by the Senate in 1805, he was acquitted of all charges on March 5, 1805; resumed his seat on the bench, and retained it until his death in Washington, D.C., on June 19, 1811; interment in Old St. Paul's Cemetery, Baltimore, Md.

GOLDSBOROUGH, Robert, a Delegate from Maryland; born at "Horns Point," Dorchester County, Md., December 3, 1733; pursued an academic course; studied law at the Middle Temple, London, England; was called to the English bar in 1757; returned to Maryland; was graduated from the Philadelphia College (now the University of Pennslyvania) in 1760; continued the practice of law at Cambridge, Md.; high sheriff of Dorcester County 1761–1765; burgess to the Maryland Assembly in 1764; attorney general of Maryland 1766–1768; prominent in ante-Revolutionary movements; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; member of the council of safety in 1775 and of the convention of the Province of Maryland, August 14, 1776, called to frame a constitution; eleced to the State senate in 1777; retired from public life to his estate near Cambridge, Md.; died at "Horns Point," near

Cambridge, Md., on December 22, 1788; interment in Christ Protestant Episcopal Church Cemetery, Cambridge, Md.

JOHNSON, Thomas, a Delegate from Maryland; born near the mouth of St. Leonards Creek, Calvert County, Md., November 4, 1732; at an early age moved to Annapolis, Md., and became a writer in the office of the clerk of the provincial court; studied law under Stephen Bordley; was admitted to the bar; practiced law in Annapolis; entered the provincial assembly as a delegate from Anne Arundel County in 1762; member of a committee set up to specify "the constitutional rights and privileges of the freemen of the province" after the passage of the Stamp Act; member of the committee of correspondence and of the council of safety; assisted in organizing the Potomac Co. for improving the navigation of the Potomac River; a member of the Annapolis Convention of June 1774; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; nominated George Washington as commander in chief of the American forces June 15, 1775; delegate to the first constitutional convention of Maryland in 1776; served in the Revolutionary War as senior brigadier general of Maryland Milita and led the western Maryland forces that went to Washington's relief during his retreat through New Jersey; first Governor of Maryland 1777–1779; moved to Frederick County, Md.; member of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1780, 1786, and 1787; member of the Maryland convention for ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1788; chief justice of the general Court of Maryland in 1790 and 1791; appointed by President Washington the first United States judge for the district of Maryland in September 1789 but declined; appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1791 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Rutledge and served until February 1793, when he resigned on account of ill health; declined a Cabinet portfolio of Secretary of State tendered by President Washington August 24, 1795; appointed by President John Adams chief judge of the Territory of Columbia February 28, 1801; as a member of the Board of Commissioners of the Federal City assisted in laying out the streets and designating sites for public buildings and named the capital city "Washington"; died at "Rose Hill," Frederick, Md., October 26, 1819; interment in All Saints' Episcopal Churchyard; reinterment in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Frederick, Md.

PACA, William, a Delegate from Maryland; born at "Wye Hall," near Abingdon, Queen Anne (now Harford) County, Md., October 31, 1740; was graduated from Philadelphia College in 1759; studied law in Annapolis, Md., and in the Inner Temple, London, England; was admitted to the bar in 1764; returned home and commenced the practice of his profession at Annapolis in 1764; elected to the provincial assembly 1768; served on the Maryland Committee of Correspondence; representative to the provincial convention 1774; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1779; a signer of the Declaratoin of Independence; member of the Maryland Council of Safety served in the State senate 1777–1779; chief judge of the superior court of Maryland 1778–1780; chief justice of the court of appeals in prize and admiralty cases 1780–1782; Governor of Maryland from November 1782 to November 1785; was influential in establishing Washington College in Chestertown, Md., in 1786; delegate to the State convention in 1788 which ratified the Federal Constitution; appointed by President Washington as judge of the United States Court for Maryland and served from 1789 until his death at "Wye Hall," Queen Anne County, Md., October 23, 1799; interment in the family burial ground, Queen Anne County, Md.

TILGHMAN, Matthew, a Delegate from Maryland; born at the "Hermitage," near Centerville, Queen Anne County, Md., February 17, 1718; was tutored privately under the direction of Hugh Jones; became captain of troop organized to protect the Eastern Shore from Indians 1741; appointed associate justice of the Talbot County Court 1741; justice of the quorum 1749–1769; presiding justice in Talbot County 1770–1775; member of the Maryland House of Delegates 1751–1758, 1760–1761, 1768–1777; serving as speaker 1773–1774; member of the committee of the Assembly which drafted a remonstrance to the King against the Townsend Acts 1768; president of the Revolutionary convention that directed the affairs of the colony 1774–1776; chairman of the committee of correspondence for Talbot County; president of the Council of Safety; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; was summoned from his seat in Congress to attend the convention at Annapolis, Md., convening June 21, 1776, and served as president of that body, it being during his service in Annapolis that the Declaration of Independence, which he supported, was adopted and signed at Philadelphia; chairman of the committee which prepared the first declaration and charter of rights and plan of government (constitution) for the State of Maryland; resigned his seat in Congress and was elected as a member of the State senate in 1776; relected in 1781 but resigned before the expiration of his term; was an extensive land owner and engaged in planting; died at his estate "Bayside," in Talbot County, Md., May 4, 1790; interment in the family cemetery at "Rich Neck."

MASSACHUSETTS

ADAMS, John, a Delegate from Massachusetts and a Vice President and 2d President of the United States; born in Braintree, Mass., October 30, 1735; was graduated from Harvard College in 1755; taught school at Worcester; studied law under James Putnam; was admitted to the bar in 1758 and commenced practice in Suffolk County; joined the Sons of Liberty and appeared before Governor Hutchinson, with Otis and Gridley, to argue against the Stamp Act; was elected to represent Boston, to which city he had moved, in the general court in 1768; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1778; signed the Declaration of Independence and proposed George Washington, of Virginia, for General of the American Army; became member of Board of War, but resigned and was appointed commissioner, superseding Deane, with Franklin and Arthur Lee, to the Court of France; later made Minister Plenipotentiary to Holland to negotiate a loan in 1782; obtained the loan and negotiated a treaty of amity and commerce; was the first Minister to England, serving from 1785 until 1788; elected in 1788 as the first Vice President of the United States on the Federalist ticket with George Washington as President; reelected in 1792 and served from April 30, 1789, to March 3, 1797; elected President of the United States as a member of the Federalist Party and served from March 4, 1797, to March 3, 1801; his last act in office was to appoint John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States; at the age of eighty-five served as a delegate to the constitutional convention of Massachusetts; died in Quincy, Mass., July 4, 1826; interment under the old First Congregational Church, now called the United First Parish Church (Unitarian).

ADAMS, Samuel, a Delegate from Massachusetts; born in Boston, Mass., September 27, 1722; was graduated from Harvard College in 1740, received M.A. 1743; engaged in the brewing business; appointed tax collector of Boston and served from 1756–1764; drafted the instructions given by the town of Boston to its newly chosen representatives with reference to Lord Grenville's proposed Stamp Act in May 1764; member of the general court of Massachusetts 1765–1774; Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1782, when he resigned; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; member of the Massachusetts constitutional convention in 1779; president of the State senate in 1781; member of the State constitutional convention in 1788; unsuccessful candidate for election in 1788 to the First Congress; Lieutenant Governor 1789–1793; Governor 1793–1797; died in Boston, Mass., October 2, 1803; interment in Granary Burial Ground.

CUSHING, Thomas, a Delegate from Massachusetts; born in Boston, Mass., March 24, 1725; attended Boston Latin School; was graduated from Harvard College in 1744; active in commerce during 1740s and 1750s; studied law; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Boston; member of the provincial assembly 1761–1774 and appointed as speaker in 1766; member of the standing committee of the "Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce within the Province of Massachusetts Bay" in 1763; member of the committee appointed by the General Court in 1764 to promote concerted protest among the colonies against the Stamp Act; signer of the nonimportation agreement of 1768; member of the State convention in Boston in 1768; appointed to the Boston Committee of Correspondence 1773; selected as member of the Committee of Safety 1774; delegate to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts and the Second Provincial Congress; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; commissary general of Massachusetts in 1775; declined to be a candidate for election to the Continental Congress in 1779; Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts

1780–1788 and Acting Governor in 1785; delegate to the State constitutional convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1788; one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; died in Boston, Mass., February 28, 1788; interment in Granary Burial Ground.

PAINE, Robert Treat, a Delegate from Massachusetts; born in Boston, Mass., March 11, 1731; attended the Boston Latin School, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1749; studied theology; was chaplain of troops on the Crown Point expedition in 1755; studied law, taking a course with Benjamin Pratt; was admitted to the bar in 1757 and commenced practice in Portland; moved to Taunton in 1761; associate prosecuting attorney in the "Boston Massacre" trial; delegate to the State convention at Boston in 1768; member of the provincial assembly 1773, 1774, 1775, 1777, and 1778; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776, elected to the Continental Congress of 1777 but did not attend; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Speaker of the State assembly in 1777; attorney general of Massachusetts 1777–1790; member of the Governor's council in 1779 and 1780; was important in the drafting of a State constitution 1778–1780; moved to Boston in 1780; judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court 1790–1804; died in Boston, Mass., May 11, 1814; interment in the Old Granary Burying Ground.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

FOLSOM, Nathaniel, a Delegate from New Hampshire; born in Exeter, Rockingham County, N.H., September 18, 1726; served in the French and Indian Wars as a captain in Colonel Blanchard's regiment gaining particular distinction in 1755 during the Crown Point expedition; also active in mercantile business in Exeter; member of the Provincial Congress; successively major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel of the Fourth Regiment of New Hampshire Militia, which he commanded at the beginning of the Revolutionary War; brigadier general of the New Hampshire troops sent to Massachusetts and served during the siege of Boston; appointed major general and planned the details of troops sent from New Hampshire to Ticonderoga; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774, 1775, and 1777–1780; member of the Council 1776; member of the legislature and of the Committee of Safety; a delegate to the State constitutional convention of 1783, serving as its president; a judge in the court of common pleas; died in Exeter, N.H., on May 26, 1790; interment in Winter Street Cemetery.

SULLIVAN, John (brother of James Sullivan and father of George Sullivan), a Delegate from New Hampshire; born in Somersworth, N.H., February 17, 1740; received a limited education; studied law at Portsmouth under Samuel Livermore; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Durham in 1760; took an active part in pre-Revolutionary movements; appointed major in the New Hampshire militia in 1772; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; appointed as a brigadier general in 1775; promoted to major general in 1776, and from July 1775 until late in 1779 was an active participant in many major engagements and received the thanks of Washington and the approbation of Congress; resigned on account of ill health; again a Member of the Continental Congress in 1780 and 1781; attorney general of New Hampshire 1782–1786; President of New Hampshire in 1786, 1787, and 1789; member of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution; speaker of the State house of representatives; presidential elector in 1789; appointed by President Washington judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire in September 1789 and held that office until his death in Durham, N.H., January 23, 1795; interment in the Sullivan family cemetery.

NEW JERSEY

CRANE, Stephen, a Delegate from New Jersey; born in Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), N.J., in July 1709; sheriff of Essex County under George the Third; was chosen by the Elizabethtown Associates to go to England and lay a petition before the King in 1743; members of the town committee in 1750; judge of the court of common pleas during the agitation over the stamp act; member of the State general assembly 1766–1773 and served as speaker in 1771; mayor of Elizabethtown 1772–1774; was appointed chairman of the county committee of New Brunswick in 1774; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; chairman of the town committee in 1776; member of the State council in 1776, 1777, and 1779; died in Elizabeth, N.J., July 1, 1780; interment in the First Presbyterian Church Cemetery.

DE HART, John, a Delegate from New Jersey; born in Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), N.J., in 1728; completed preparatory studies; studied law; was admitted to the bar and practiced; was made a sergeant-at-law on September 11, 1770; was one of the signers of the Articles of Association, as the nonimportation agreement was called, in 1774; Member of the Continental Congress and served from July 3, 1774, until his resignation on November 22, 1775; again elected on February 14, 1776, but resigned on June 13, 1776; member of the committee who prepared the draft for the New Jersey State constitution in June 1776; elected chief justice of the State supreme court September 4, 1776, and his declination was accepted February 5, 1777; mayor of Elizabethtown under the revised charter and served from November 1789 until his death; died in Elizabethtown, N.J., June 1, 1795; interment on St. John's Churchyard.

KINSEY, James, a Delegate from New Jersey; born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 22, 1731; attended the common schools; studied law; was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1753 and practiced in the courts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with residence in Burlington County, N.J.; member of the State general assembly 1772–1775; member of the committee of correspondence for Burlington County in 1774 and 1775; Member of the Continental Congress from July 23, 1774, until his resignation effective November 22, 1775; appointed chief justice of the supreme court of New Jersey on November 20, 1789, and served until his death in Burlington, N.J., January 4, 1803; interment in St. Mary's Churchyard.

LIVINGSTON, William, a Delegate from New Jersey; born in Albany, N. Y., November 30, 1723; was graduated from Yale College in 1741; studied law in the office of James Alexander, under men such as Alexander and William Smith; was admitted to the bar in 1748 and commenced practice in New York; prepared a digest of the provincial laws with William Smith, Jr., 1752 and 1762; established and edited the Independent Reflector in 1752; a commissioner to adjust the boundary lines between New York and Massachusetts in 1754 and New York and New Jersey in 1764; member of the provincial assembly from Livingston Manor 1759–1761; moved to Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), N. J. in 1772; member of the Essex County Committee of Correspondence; elected Member of the Continental Congress July 23, 1774, and served until June 5, 1776; became commander of the New Jersey Militia in 1776, and served until August 31, 1776, having been elected Governor; served consecutively as Governor of New Jersey from August 31, 1776, until his death; appointed one of the commissioners to superintendent the construction of Federal buildings in 1785, but declined, as he did the appointment to be Minister to The Hague tendered June 23, 1785; delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 and one of the signers of the Constitution; died in Elizabethtown, Union County, N. J., July 25, 1790; interment in the family vault in Trinity Churchyard, New York City.

SMITH, Richard, a Delegate from New Jersey; born in Burlington, N. J., March 22, 1735; educated under private teachers and in Friends' schools; studied law with Joseph Galloway of Philadelphia; was admitted to the bar about 1760; commissioned county clerk of Burlington on December 7, 1762, apparently served as clerk of the Colonial Assembly for several years; elected Member of the Continental Congress from July 23, 1774 and served until June 12, 1776, when he resigned; was one of the signers of the petition to the King, being the last effort of the Colonies to avert an armed conflict; member of the State council in 1776; elected treasurer of New Jersey and served from 1776 to February 15, 1777, when he resigned; moved to Laurens, N. Y., in 1790 and thence to Philadelphia in 1799; died near Natchez, Miss., September 17, 1803; interment in Natchez Cemetery.

NEW YORK

ALSOP, John, a Delegate from New York; born in New Windsor, Orange County, N.Y., in 1724; completed preparatory studies; moved to New York City and engaged in mercantile pursuits and importing; represented New York City in the colonial legislature; one of the incorporators of the New York Hospital, serving as its governor 1770–1784; Member of the Continental Congress from September 14 to October 26, 1774, and from May 10, 1775, to the latter part of that year; member of a committee of one hundred appointed in 1775 by the citizens of the city to take charge of the government until a convention could be assembled; served as the eighth president of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1784 and 1785; died in Newtown, Long Island, N. Y., November 22, 1794; interment in Trinity Church Cemetery, New York City.

BOERUM, Simon, a Delegate from New York; born in New Lots (now Brooklyn), Long Island, N. Y., February 29, 1724; attended the Dutch school at Flatbush, N. Y., from which he was graduated; engaged in agricultural pursuits and milling; appointed county clerk of Kings County by Governor Clinton in 1750; also became clerk of the board of supervisors and held both positions until his death; member of the colonial assembly 1761–1775; deputy to the provincial convention in April 1775; Member of the Continental Congress in 1775; died in Brooklyn, N. Y., July 11, 1775; interment in Glenwood Cemetery.

DUANE, James, a Delegate from New York; born in New York City February 6, 1733; completed preparatory studies probably with the Rev. Richard Charlton, a classical tutor; studied law in the office of James Alexander; was admitted to the bar August 3, 1754; clerk of the chancery court in 1762; attorney general of New York in 1767; boundary commissioner in 1768 and 1784; State Indian commissioner in 1774; was one of those who tried to quell the Stamp Act mob 1765 and took other conservative stands; appointed to the Committee of Correspondence in 1774; delegate to the provincial convention in 1775; member of the Revolutionary Committee of One Hundred in 1775; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1783; member of the Provincial Congress in 1776 and 1777; served in the State senate 1782–1785 and 1788–1790; mayor of New York City 1784–1789; delegate to the State convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1788; United States district judge for the district of New York 1789–1794; died in Duanesburg, Schenectady County, N. Y., February 1, 1797; interment under the church in Duanesburg.

FLOYD, William, a Delegate and a Representative from New York; born in Brookhaven, Long Island, N.Y., December 17, 1734; received limited academic education; inherited large landed estate at age of eighteen; served as an officer in the Suffolk County militia and later as major general in the State militia; was prominent in the ante-Revolutionary movements; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; signed the Declaration of Independence; served in the State senate in 1777 and 1778; again a Member of the Continental Congress 1778–1783; again served in the State senate 1784–1788; elected to the First Congress (March 4, 1789–March 3, 1791); unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1790 to the Second Congress; presidential elector in 1792; moved in 1803 to Westernville, Oneida County; again presidential elector in 1800, 1804, and 1820; delegate to the State constitutional convention in 1801; again a member of the State senate in 1808; died in Westernville, N.Y., August 4, 1821; interment in Presbyterian Church Cemetery.

HARING, John, a Delegate from New York; born in Tappan, Rockland County, N.Y., September 28, 1739; attended school in New York City; studied law; was admitted to the bar and practiced in New York City and Rockland County; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774, 1775, and 1785–1788; judge of Orange County in 1774, 1775, and 1778–1788; member of the provincial convention of April 1775 and of the four New York Provincial Congresses in 1775–1777, serving as president pro tempore of the Second and Third Provincial Congresses; served in the State senate 1781–1789; member of the council of appointment in 1781 and 1782; member of the State board of regents in 1784; member of the State convention in 1788 to consider the Federal Constitution and voted to reject it; member of the State assembly in 1806; died in Blauveitville, Rockland County, N.Y., April 1, 1809; interment in Tappan Church Cemetery, Tappan, N.Y.

JAY, John, a Delegate from New York; born in New York City December 12, 1745; educated by private tutors, and was graduated from Kings College (now Columbia University) in 1764; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1768; member royal commission for settling boundary between New York and New Jersey, 1773; served on the New York committee of correspondence; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777, 1778, and 1779; while attending the Congress in Philadelphia in 1776 the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York (formerly the New York Provincial Congress), meeting at White Plains, N. Y., requested his presence and counsel and it was upon his motion, as a member of the convention, July 9, 1776, that the Declaration of Independence was unanimously approved; recalled some months in 1777 to aid in forming the New York State constitution; appointed chief justice of the State of New York in May 1777 but resigned December 1778 to become President of the Continental Congress and served in that capacity from December 10, 1778, to September 28, 1779; appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain September 27, 1779; appointed one of the ministers to negotiate peace with Great Britain June 14, 1781, and signed the treaty of Paris; appointed one of the ministers to negotiate treaties with the European powers May 1, 1783; returned to New York in 1784; appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs July 1784, which position he held until the establishment of the Federal Government in 1789; appointed the first Chief Justice of the United States by President Washington September 26, 1789, and served until June 29, 1795, when he resigned; unsuccessful Federal candidate for Governor of New York in 1792; appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain April 19, 1794, and served until April 8, 1795, still retaining his position as Chief Justice of the United States; Governor of New York 1795–1801; declined reelection and also a reappointment as Chief Justice of the United States; retired to his farm at Bedford, near New York City, where he died May 17, 1829; interment in the family burying ground at Rye, N. Y.

LIVINGSTON, Philip, a Delegate from New York; born in Albany, N. Y., January 15, 1716; was graduated from Yale College in 1737; engaged in the mercantile business in New York City; member of the board of aldermen 1754–1762; member of the provincial house of representatives 1763–1769 and served as speaker in 1768; member of the New York Committee of Correspondence; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in October 1765; register in chancery in 1768 and 1769; Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 until his death; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; president of the New York Provincial Convention in 1775; member of the State assembly in 1776; served in the State senate in 1777; prominent in commercial and educational societies; died while attending the sixth session of the Continental Congress in York, Pa., June 12, 1778; interment in a tomb in Prospect Hill Cemetery, York, York County, Pa.

LOW, Isaac, a Delegate from New York; born at Raritan Landing, near New Brunswick, N.J., April 13, 1735; active in pre-Revolutionary affairs; moved to New York City and engaged in mercantile pursuits; had financial interest in slitting mill also; stamp-act commissioner for the Province of New York during the French and Indian War; delegate to Stamp Act Congress 1765; 1768 chosen head of committee of inspection to enforce non-importation; chairman of Committee of Fifty-one; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; declined membership in the Provincial Congress in 1775; became chairman of Committee of Sixty; was opposed to armed conflict with Great Britain and after the Declaration of Independence abandoned the patriot cause; returned to Rariton, N.J., in 1776 where he was accused of treason and imprisoned by the New Jersey Convention, but was released on the interposition of George Washington; returned to New York after the British occupation; one of the founders and president of the New York Chamber of Commerce 1775–1783; his property was confiscated in 1779 by the American authorities, and in 1783 he moved to England, where he died in Cowes, Isle of Wight, July 25, 1791.

WISNER, Henry, a Delegate from New York; born at Goshen, Orange County, N.Y., in 1720; had little formal schooling, engaged in farming, invested in real estate, and built a gristmill near Goshen, engaged in farming N.Y; member of the colonial assembly 1759–1769; delegate to the New York provincial convention in 1775; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; following instructions did not vote for Declaration of Independence though he was present and favored it, but was absent at the time it was signed, attending the Provincial Congress in New York, to which he had just been elected; member of the Provincial Congress in 1776 and 1777; erected three powder mills in the vicinity of Goshen, Orange County, N. Y., and supplied powder to the Continental Army during the Revolution; one of the committee that framed the first constitution of New York in 1777; member of the commission to provide for fortifying the Hudson River, which constructed forts at West Point and placed the chain across the river in 1776 and 1778; served in the State senate 1777–1782; established an academy at Goshen in 1784; member of the first board of regents of the University of the State of New York, 1784–1787; served as a member of the State convention that ratified the Federal Constitution in 1788 where he voted against ratification out of a fear of granting so much power to the central government, died in Goshen, N. Y., on March 4, 1790; interment in the Old Wallkill Cemetery, Phillipsburg, N. Y.

NORTH CAROLINA

CASWELL, Richard, a Delegate from North Carolina; born in Cecil County, Md., August 3, 1729; moved to Raleigh, North Carolina in 1746 where he worked as a surveyor and a lawyer; appointed deputy surveyor of the colony in 1750; clerk of the court of Orange County 1752–1754; was admitted to the bar in 1754 and commenced practice in Hillsboro, N.C.; member of the colonial house of delegates 1754–1771, and served as speaker the last two years; commanded the right wing of Governor Tryon's army at the Battle of Alamance in 1771; served in the Revolutionary Army; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; commanded the patriots at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, North Carolina, February 23, 1776; colonel of the North Carolina Partisan Rangers 1776–1777; appointed major-general of the state militia 1780; appointed brigadier general of the New Bern District by the Provincial Congress in 1776; delegate to the State constitutional convention and its president in 1776; Governor of North Carolina 1776–1780, serving without pay from 1776 to 1778; commanded the North Carolina troops at the Battle of Camden in 1780; comptroller general in 1782; member of the State senate 1782–1784 and served as speaker; again elected Governor in 1785 and served until 1788; appointed delegate from North Carolina to the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, but did not attend; member of the State convention at Fayetteville, N.C., that adopted the Federal Constitution in 1789; member and speaker of the State house of commons in 1789 and served until his death in Fayetteville, N.C., November 10, 1789; interment in the family cemetery on his estate near Kinston, Lenoir County, N.C.

HEWES, Joseph, a Delegate from North Carolina; born in Kingston, N. J., January 23, 1730; finished school and was then apprenticed to a Philadelphia merchant; engaged in business in Philadelphia, Pa., for a time; moved to Edenton, N.C., sometime between 1756 and 1763 and set up a successful mercantile and shipping business there; member of the State house of commons in 1766–1775; member of the committee of correspondence in 1773; delegate to the Provincial Congresses; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; again served in the State house of commons in 1778 and 1779; member of the committee to report upon the rights of the Colonies; was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; again a Member of the Continental Congress in 1779 and served until his death in Philadelphia, Pa., on November 10, 1779; interment in Christ Churchyard.

HOOPER, William, a Delegate from North Carolina; born in Boston, Mass., June 17, 1742; attended the Boston Latin School, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1760; studied law under James Otis; was admitted to the bar; moved to

Wilmington, N.C., in 1764 where he began practice; deputy attorney-general; member of Tryon's military expedition against the Regulators 1771; member of Committee of Correspondence; leader of movement to send relief after passage of Boston Port Bill; member of the Colonial Assembly of North Carolina 1773–1776; published a series of articles against the Crown which aroused the people to the issues involved, and he was disbarred for one year; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; moved for the first Provincial Congre[illegible] 1774 and was elected to all five Congresses; prominent in Revolutionary movem[illegible] member of the State assembly in 1777 and 1778; member of the commission to sett[illegible] a boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New York in 1786; died in Hillsboro, N.C., October 14, 1790; interment in Guilford Battle Ground, N.C.

PENNSYLVANIA

BIDDLE, Edward, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1738; entered the provincial army as an ensign in 1754, promoted to lieutenant and captain, and served until 1763, when he resigned; studied law; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Reading, Pa.; member of the State assembly 1767–1775, serving as speaker in 1774; member of the provincial convention held at Philadelphia in 1775; again a member of the State assembly in 1778; Member of the Continental Congresses 1774–1776, 1778, and 1779; died at Chatsworth, near Baltimore, Md., September 5, 1779; interment in St. Paul's Churchyard, Baltimore, Md.

DICKINSON, John, a Delegate from Pennsylvania and from Delaware; born on his father's estate, "Crosiadoré," near Trappe, Talbot County, Md., November 8, 1732; moved with his parents in 1740 to Dover, Del., where he studied under a private teacher; studied law in Philadelphia under John Moland beginning in 1750 and at the Middle Temple in London; was admitted to the bar 1757 and commenced practice in Philadelphia; member of the Assembly of " Lower Counties," as the State of Delaware was then called, in 1760 and became speaker, member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1792 and 1764; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; re-elected to Pennsylvania Assembly in 1770; Chairman of Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence in 1774; resigned from Pennsylvania Assembly in 1776; Member from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress 1774–1776 and from Delaware in 1779 and 1780; brigadier general of Pennsylvania Militia for only a brief time; President of the State of Delaware in 1781; returned to Philadelphia and served as President of Pennsylvania 1782–1785; returned to Delaware; was a member of the Federal convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution and was one of the signers from Delaware; died in Wilmington, New Castle County, Del., on February 14, 1808; interment in the Friends Burial Ground.

GALLOWAY, Joseph, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born at West River, Anne Arundel County, Md., about 1729; received a liberal schooling; moved to Philadelphia after father's death to study law; was admitted to the bar and began practice in Philadelphia, Pa.; he was also involved in several mercantile houses and western land speculation; member of the Pennsylvania Colonial House of Representatives 1757–1775, with the exception if 1764–1765, and served as speaker 1766–1775; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774; signed the nonimportation agreement, but was opposed to independence of the Colonies and remained loyal to the King; during British occupation of Philadelphia he became civil administrator with titles of superintendent of police and of the port; moved to England in 1778; the same year the General Assembly of Pennsylvania convicted him of high treason and confiscated his estates, valued at about £40,000; died in Watford, Herts, England, August 29, 1803.

HUMPHREYS, Charles, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born in Haverford, Delaware County, Pa., September 19, 1714; completed preparatory studies; engaged in milling; member of the Provincial Congress 1774; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; voted against the Declaration of Independence as he was a Quaker and opposed to war; died in Haverford, Pa., March 11, 1786; interment in Old Haverford Meeting House Cemetery.

MIFFLIN, Thomas, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born in Philadelphia, Pa., January 10, 1744; attended a Quaker school and was graduated from the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1760; prepared to be a merchant in the counting house of William Coleman of Philadelphia 1760–1764; visited Europe 1764; began successful mercantile career 1765; member of the American Philosophical Society 1765–1799; member of the colonial legislature 1772–1776; actively opposed Stamp Act and favored non-importation agreements; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776 and 1782–1784, and was its President in 1783–174; helped draft the Association of 1774; assisted in organizing troops and in training them for service in the Continental Army; appointed major May 1775; appointed chief aide-de-camp to General Washington June 23, 1775; appointed Quartermaster General of the Continental Army August 14, 1775; appointed colonel Demember 22, 1775; appointed brigadier general May 16, 1776; appointed major general February 19, 1777; submitted resignations both as a quartermaster and major general October 8, 1777; resignation as quartermaster effective March 1778; resignation as major-general accepted February 25, 1779; appointed member of board of war November 7, 1777; trustee of the University of Pennsylvania 1778–1791; in January 1780; appointed a member of a special board to consider general expenses and was given the thanks of Congress for the "wise and salutary plans recommended"; served as member of the State Assembly 1778–1779; delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention in 1787; president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania October 1788 to October 1790; president of the State constitutional convention in 1790; Governor of Pennsylvania 1790–1799; again a member of the State house of representatives in 1799 and 1800; died in Lancaster, Pa., January 20, 1800; interment in the front yard of Trinity Lutheran Church.

MORTON, John, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born near the old Morris Ferry (now the Darby Creek Bridge), Ridley Township, Delaware County, Pa., in 1724; attended the common school for about three months, and received some tutoring in surveying; a land surveyor for many years; became justice of the peace in 1757; member of the colonial general assembly 1756–1766 and 1769–1775 and served as speaker 1775; member of the (Stamp Act) Congress in 1765; high sheriff of Chester County 1766–1769; appointed as a judge in 1770 for the trial of Negroes, serving as president judge of the court of general sessions and common pleas of the county, and in April 1774 was appointed an associate justice of the supreme court of appeals of Pennsylvania; member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; cast the deciding vote of the Pennsylvania delegation on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and was a signer thereof; died in Ridley Park, Delaware County, Pa., in April 1777; interment in St. Paul's Churchyard, Chester, Pa

RHOADS, Samuel, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1711; receive a limited schooling and became a carpenter and builder; member of the city council in 1741; member of the provincial assembly 1761–1764 and 1771–1774; commissioner to a conference of western Indians and the Six Nations at Lancaster, Pa., in 1761; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; mayor of Philadelphia in 1774; founder and member of board of managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital 1751–1781; director of the Philadelphia Library; died in Philadelphia, Pa., April 7, 1784.

ROSS, George, a Delegate from Pennsylvania; born in New Castle, Del., May 10, 1730; completed preparatory studies; studied law; with his step-brother John Ross was admitted to the bar in 1750 and commenced practice in Lancaster, Pa.; served for 12 years as prosecutor for the Crown in Cumberland County, member of the colonial assembly 1768–1776; delegate to the State convention in 1774; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; saw brief service as colonel of associators and in 1776 negotiated a treaty with Indians of NW Pennsylvania; vice President of Pennsylvania Constitutional convention of 1776; appointed judge of the court of admiralty for Pennsylvania March 1, 1779 and served in that capacity until his death near Philadelphia, Pa., July 14, 1779; interment in Christ Churchyard.

RHODE ISLAND

HOPKINS, Stephen, a Delegate from Rhode Island; born in Providence, R. I., March 7, 1707; attended the public schools; was raised on a farm in the town of Scituate, Providence County; moderator of first Scituate town meeting; 1732 became town clerk; 1735 president of the town council; member of the general assembly 1732–33, 1735–38, 1741–52 and 1770–1775; served as speaker 1742 and 1749; justice of the court of common pleas in 1739, 1741 became clerk of court of common pleas moved to Providence in 1742 and engaged in surveying and merchantile pursuits; from 1747–49 was assistant justice of Rhode Island superior court; chief justice of the superior court 1751–1754; delegate to the Colonial Congress which met in Albany in 1754; Colonial Governor of Rhode Island in 1755, 1756, 1758–1761, 1763, 1764, and 1767; first chancellor of Rhode Island College (Brown Univ.) 1764; again appointed chief justice of the superior court in 1773; held three important offices at the same time—member of the assembly, Member of the Continental Congress, and chief justice; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; member R. I. General Assembly 1777; died in Providence, R. I., July 13, 1785; interment in the North Burial Ground.

WARD, Samuel, a Delegate from Rhode Island; born in Newport, R. I., May 27, 1725; educated grammar school; settled in Westerly, R. I., in 1745; engaged in agricultural pursuits; member of the general assembly 1756–1759 one of the founders of Rhode Island College (now Brown University), Providence, R. I., in 1765; chief justice of Rhode Island in 1761 and 1762; Governor under the royal charter in 1762, 1763, and 1765–1767; trustee of Brown University 1764–1776; was an active patriot and a friend and correspondent of Washington and Franklin; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; died in Philadelphia, Pa., March 26, 1776; interment in the churchyard of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; reinterment in the Old Cemetery, Newport, R. I., in 1860.

SOUTH CAROLINA

GADSDEN, Christopher, a Delegate from South Carolina; born in Charleston, S.C., February 16, 1724; attended preparatory and classical schools in England; employed in a commercial house in Philadelphia, Pa., 1742–1745; was purser on a British war vessel; then returned to Charleston to begin a business career after 1745; entered provincial assembly in 1757 and served in it for almost thirty years; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in New York in 1765; Member of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Pa., 1774–1776; served as an officer in the Continental Army 1776–1783, and participated in the defense of Charleston in 1780; entered the service as colonel and subsequently attained the rank of brigadier general; was a framer of the State constitution in 1778; elected Governor of South Carolina in 1782, but declined; died in Charleston, S.C., August 28, 1805; interment in St. Philip's Churchyard.

LYNCH, Thomas, Sr., a Delegate from South Carolina; born in St. James' Parish, Berkeley County, S.C., in 1727; attended the common schools; engaged in planting, with extensive rice plantations on the Santee River and elsewhere; served in the House of Commons of the provincial assembly 1751–1757, 1761–1763, 1765, 1768, and 1772; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; member of the general committee 1769–1774; delegate to the First and Second Provincial Congresses in 1775 and 1776; member of the first State general assembly in 1776; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; reelected in 1776, but was unable to sign the Declaration of Independence because of illness; died in Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Md., in December 1776 while en route to his home; interment in St. Anne's Churchyard, Annapolis, Md.

MIDDLETON, Henry, a Delegate from South Carolina; born at "The Oaks," near Charleston, S.C., in 1717; educated at home and in England; justice of the peace and quorum 1742–1780; member of the provincial house of commons 1742–1755 and served as speaker 1747, 1754, and 1755; commissioned officer of horse of the provincial forces in 1743; commissioner of Indian affairs in 1755, of the church act, of free schools, and internal improvements; member of the King's Provincial Council from 1755 until his resignation in September 1770; member of the provincial convention in 1774; Member of the Continental Congress from 1774 until 1776; when he resigned; served as president of that body from October 22, 1774, to May 10, 1775; member of the council of safety in 1775 and 1776; president of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina and as its Delegate in Congress received the thanks of that body for his services in the cause of liberty; member of the committee to prepare a form of government in 1776; member of the legislative council under the transition government 1776–1778; member of the State senate 1779–1780; large landowner and planter in Berkeley, Colleton, and Granville Counties, residing at his estates, "The Oaks" and "Middleton Place;" died in Charleston, Charleston County, S. C., June 13, 1784; interment behind the chancel of the Church of St. James Parish, Berkeley County, S. C.

RUTLEDGE, Edward, a Delegate from South Carolina; born in Christ Church Parish, S.C., November 23, 1749; completed preparatory studies; admitted to the Middle Temple in 1767 in London and called to the English bar in 1772; returned to South Carolina; was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in 1773; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1777; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; was a delegate to the first provincial congress in 1775 and to the second provincial congress 1775–1776; appointed a member of the first board of war in June 1776; member of the general assembly in 1778; elected a Member of the Continental Congress in 1779 but did not take his seat; captain in the Charleston Battalion of Artillery in the Militia of South Carolina in the Revolution; taken prisoner when the British captured Charleston May 12, 1780, imprisoned at St. Augustine until July 1781, when he was exchanged; member of the State house of representatives from 1782–1796; member of the State house of representatives from 1782–1796; member of the State constitutional convention in 1788 and 1790 and was author of the act abolishing the law of primogeniture in 1791; presidential elector in 1788, 1792 and in 1796 and voted for Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina; elected to State senate 1796 and 1798; elected Governor of South Carolina and served from December 6, 1798, until his death in Charleston, S.C., January 23, 1800; interment in St. Philip's Churchyard.

RUTLEDGE, John, a Delegate from South Carolina; born in Christ Church Parish, S.C., in 1739; pursued classical studies with a tutor in Charleston; studied law in Charleston and later at the Middle Temple in London; he was called to the English bar in 1760; returned to Charleston, S.C., and commenced practice in 1761; elected to the provincial assembly in 1762; delegate to the Stamp Act Congress at New York City in 1765 and, although the youngest member of the Congress, was made chairman of the committee that drafted the memorial and petition to the House of Lords; continued the practice of law; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; served as President and commander in chief of South Carolina 1776–1778 and as Governor 1779–1782; again a Member of the Continental Congress in 1782 and 1783; elected one of the State chancellors in 1784; member South Carolina House of Representatives 1784–1790; delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787; member of the State convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1788; received the electoral vote of South Carolina for Vice President in 1789; Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court 1789–1791; elected chief justice of South Carolina in 1791 and served until 1795, when he resigned; nominated in 1795 to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and presided at the August term, but the Senate on December 15, 1795, refused to confirm him; died in Charleston, S.C., July 23, 1800; interment in St. Michael's Churchyard.

VIRGINIA

BLAND, Richard, a Delegate from Virginia; born in Orange County, Va., May 6, 1710; completed preparatory studies; was graduated from William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.; member of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1742–1775; was known as "The Virginia Antiquary"; member of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence in 1773; took a leading part in the Revolutionary War; member of the first House of Delegates; Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; again chosen, but declined to serve; member of the Revolutionary conventions of 1775 and 1776; died in Williamsburg, Va., October 26, 1776; interment in a private cemetery on the Jordan Point plantation, on the James River.

HARRISON, Benjamin, a Delegate from Virginia; born on the plantation "Berkeley," Charles City County, Va., April 5, 1726; pursued classical studies and attended William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., left without graduation in 1745 on death of his father; Member of the colonial house of burgesses 1749–1775 and was a member of the committee which drew up the address to the King and the remonstrance to Parliament on the passage of the declaratory act of 1764, he was also frequently chosen speaker of House of Burgesses; member of Virginia Committee of Correspondence in 1773; member of the Virginia revolutionary convention in March, July, and December, 1775 and 1776; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1778; as chairman of the Committee of the Whole House he reported the resolution of June 10, 1776, offered three days before by Richard Henry Lee, declaring the independence of the American Colonies, and reported the Declaration of Independence, of which he was one of the signers, on July 4, 1776; resigned in 1778; member of the State house of delegates 1776–1782 and 1784–1791 and served as speaker 1778–1782, 1785, and 1786; Governor of Virginia 1782–1784; delegate to the State convention for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1788; died at his home, "Berkeley," Charles City County, Va., April 24, 1791; interment in the family plot on his estate.

HENRY, Patrick, a Delegate from Virginia; born in Studley, Hanover County, Va., May 29, 1736; pursued classical studies with his father, engaged in merchantile pursuits; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1760; became a freeholder in Louisa County in 1764; served as a member of the colonial house of burgesses in 1765; was foremost in the movement to call a Continental Congress; Member Virginia revolutionary convention 1775–76. Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1776; Governor of Virginia 1776–1779 and 1784–1786; member of the State convention which ratified the Constitution in 1788; declined the appointment of United States Senator in 1794, the Cabinet portfolio of Secretary of State in 1795, the appointment of Chief Justice of the United States tendered by President Washington, and of Minister to France offered by President Adams; elected to the State senate in 1799, but did not take the seat; died in Red Hill, Va., June 6, 1799; interment in Red Hill Cemetery.

LEE, Richard Henry, a Delegate and a Senator from Virginia; born at "Stratford," in Westmoreland County, Va., January 20, 1732; after a course of private instruction attended Wakefield Academy, England; returned in 1752; justice of the peace for Westmoreland County in 1757; member of the house of burgesses 1758–1775; Member of the Continental Congress 1774–1779; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; brought forward the resolution, in accord with instructions given in the Virginia convention of May 17, 1776, declaring "that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States," etc.; author of the first national Thanksgiving Day proclamation issued by Congress at York, Pa., October 31, 1777, after the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, N.Y.; member of the State house of delegates in 1777, 1780, and 1785; served as colonel of the Westmoreland Militia in engagement with the British at Stratford Landing on April 9, 1781; again a Member of the Continental Congress 1784–1787 and served as President of the Congress in 1784; member of the Virginia convention which ratified the Federal Constitution June 26, 1788 where he led the opposition to ratification; elected to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1789, until his resignation October 8, 1792; retired from public life; died at his home, "Chantilly," Westmoreland County, Va., June 19, 1794; interment in the old family burying ground at "Mount Pleasant," near Hague, Westmoreland County, Va.

PENDLETON, Edmund, a Delegate from Virginia; born in Caroline County, Va., September 9, 1721; completed preparatory studies; clerk, Caroline County Court, in 1740; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1741 and practiced; justice of the peace in 1751 of Caroline County; member of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1752–1774; member of the committee of correspondence in 1773 and of all the Virginia revolutionary conventions of 1774–1775. Member of the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775; president of the committee of safety in 1775; member of the State House of delegates in 1776, Speaker of the House of Delegates in 1776 and 1777; judge of the general court and the court of chancery in 1777; presiding judge of the court of appeals in 1779; member and president of the Virginia constitutional convention in 1788; died in Richmond, Va., October 23, 1803; interment at Edmundsbury, eight miles southeast of Bowling Green, Va.; in 1907 was reinterred in Bruton Parish Church Cemetery, Williamsburg, Va.

RANDOLPH, Peyton, a Delegate from Virginia; born at Tazewell Hall, Williamsburg, Va., in September 1721; received his early education under private tutors; was graduated from William and Mary College, Williasmburg, Va.; studied law at the Middle Temple, London, England, beginning in 1739 and was called to the bar in 1744 and was appointed King's attorney for Virginia in 1748; member of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1748–1749, 1752–1775 and served as speaker in 1766; chairman of the committee of correspondence in 1773; president of the Virginia conventions of 1774 and 1775; Member of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Pa., September 5, 1774, and elected its President but resigned October 22, 1774, to attend the State legislature; reelected to the Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1775, but was forced to resign on account of ill health; died in Philadelphia, Pa., October 22, 1775; interment beneath the chapel of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

WASHINGTON, George, a Delegate from Virginia and 1st President of the United States; born at "Wakefield," near Popes Creek, Westmoreland County, Va., February 22, 1732; moved with his parents first to Little Hunting Creek on the Potomac and then to "Ferry Farm" in King George County on the Rappahannock River, opposite Fredericksburg; after the death of his father in 1743 until 1748; he lived with relatives in Westmoreland and the Chetank region, at "Ferry Farm," and at "Mount Vernon," the home of his half-brother Lawrence; received seven or eight years of school training during his youth, with his father and his half-brother Lawrence as his main teachers; helped on survey of Shenandoah lands of Lord Fairfax 1748; appointed county surveyor for Culpeper 1749; appointed adjutant general of a military district in Virginia with the rank of major in 1752; in November 1753 was sent by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to conduct important business with the French Army in the Ohio Valley; in 1754 was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and served in the French and Indian war, becoming aide-de-camp to General Braddock in 1755; appointed by Dinwiddie as commander in chief of colonial forces, and from 1755 to 1758 engaged in recruiting and organizing troops for colonial defense; commanded a successful expedition to Fort Duquesne in 1758; engaged in agriculture at Mount Vernon, and served as a magistrate and as a member of the colonial house of burgesses 1759–1774, justice of Fairfax 1766–1774; delegate to the Williamsburg convention of August 1775; Member of the First and Second Continental Congresses in 1774 and 1775; unanimously chosen June 15, 1775, as commander in chief of all the forces raised or to be raised; commanded the armies throughout the war for independence and received the special thanks and recognition of Congress upon eight separate occasions; resigned his commission December 23, 1783, and returned to private life at Mount Vernon; was delegate to, and president of, the national convention that framed the Federal Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787; unanimously elected as the first President of the United States, being inaugurated April 30, 1789, in New York City; unanimously reelected; retired March 3, 1797, after declining a renomination; issued his farewell address to the people of the United States in September 1796; again appointed as lieutenant general and commander of the United States Army July 3, 1798, and served until his death December 14, 1799, in Mount Vernon, Va., after a short illness; interment in the vault at Mount Vernon on December 18, 1799.

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